

MACAULAY'S ESSAY
ON
WARREN HASTINGS

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PREFACE

Macaulay's *Warren Hastings* has long been a favourite with the general reader, and an established classic in school and college. But, unfortunately, its trustworthiness is by no means commensurate with its popularity. The task of commenting on the essay is, therefore, a peculiarly onerous and invidious one. To substitute prosaic facts for picturesque fictions; to show that brilliant word-pictures, long accepted as faithful representations, are largely imaginary; to demolish a piece of sparkling rhetoric by giving due prominence to carefully-suppressed facts, must always be a disagreeable, though a necessary, duty to a commentator. Such, however, must be the task of any editor of this essay who wishes to give his reader—as he is bound to do—the results of the most recent investigations and the benefit of the latest discussions on the various controversies with which it bristles. An endeavour has been made in this edition to put before the reader the facts as they are found in the original sources, such as Hastings' own letters; and where opinions are ventured upon, they are for the most part those of acknowledged experts on the history or adminis-

tration of Indian affairs. Though the essay loses thereby a great deal of its glamour, it supplies all the better material for training the critical and judicial faculties of the student.

The text followed is that of the collected edition of 1849. The paragraphs in the original text relating to Gleig have been printed in an appendix. They are not too severe on the biographer of Hastings, and nothing but Macaulay's rare generosity in literary matters led him to suppress them.

The numbering of the paragraphs, the chronological table, the synopsis of the essay, and the bibliography will, it is hoped, prove helpful to both student and teacher.

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INTRODUCTION

I. LIFE OF MACAULAY

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, in Leicestershire, on the 25th of October, 1800. He was the eldest child of a family of nine. As his name would suggest, he was of Scottish descent, his grandfather and great-grandfather having been clergymen of the Presbyterian Church in the Western Highlands. His father, Zachary, was an ardent advocate of the freedom of the slave, and a leading member of that small circle of Evangelical Churchmen which, under the name of "the Clapham sect", became widely known for the piety and philanthropy of its members. His mother, Selina Mills, was of a Quaker family, and had been educated by the sisters of Hannah More, whose school provided the best education available for young ladies at the end of the eighteenth century.

At a very early age he showed marvellous precocity, and a memory so extraordinary as to mark him out at once as a prodigy. When still a mere child he was an omnivorous reader and a facile writer. He was educated in private schools, till, at the age of eighteen, he became a student of Trinity College, Cambridge. At the university he continued to give his attention, as he had done at school, entirely to the study of literature. He showed a decided distaste for mathematics, the prevailing study at Cambridge, and failed so completely to attain proficiency in this subject that he seriously endangered his chances of the highest university distinctions. His brilliant career in classics, however, made up for other deficiencies, and in 1824 he was elected Fellow

of his college, thus securing an income of £300 for seven years.

Macaulay had not confined himself to classics during his university career. He had read largely in the literature of modern European nations, especially Italian. He had also acquired a familiarity with English writers which was very uncommon at that time with university students. He found a field for the cultivation of his own literary powers in the Union Debating Society, of which he was the most distinguished member of his time. He there discovered his own gifts as a rhetorician of rare power, and the discovery helped to stamp his writings at the very outset with their peculiar quality—that of argumentative oratory. It is to such a university training—developing, as it did, the literary and rhetorical powers of Macaulay to the stunting of all the other sides of his nature—that we are to attribute most of the excellences and defects that afterwards marked him as a writer.

Macaulay adopted the profession of law, but literature proved more attractive to him. A few contributions to Knight's *Quarterly Magazine* in 1823 and 1824 were sufficient to complete his apprenticeship to the literary art. In his first article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in August, 1825—the 'Essay on Milton'—he appeared as a finished master of the art of expression. "The effect on the author's reputation", says his biographer, Sir George Trevelyan, "was instantaneous. Like Lord Byron, he awoke one morning and found himself famous. The beauties of the work were such as all men could recognize, and its very faults pleased. . . . The family breakfast-table in Bloomsbury was covered with cards of invitation to dinner from every quarter of London, and his father groaned in spirit over the conviction that thenceforward the law would be less to him than ever. . . . But the compliment that of all others came most nearly home—the only commendation of his literary talent which even in the innermost domestic circle he was ever known to repeat—was the sentence with which Jeffrey acknowledged the receipt of his manuscript: 'The more I think, the less I can conceive where you picked up that style'."

He now became a frequent contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*, and it was by his articles on Mill in that magazine that he attracted the attention of Lord Lansdowne. By the Whig peer's influence he entered Parliament in 1830 as member for the pocket borough of Calne, and his first speech on the Reform Bill in 1831 at once placed him in the foremost rank as an orator. His share in securing the victory of the Whigs, and in passing the Reform Bill in 1832, was acknowledged by his appointment in that year to the office of Secretary to the Board of Control. His fame as a parliamentary orator continued to increase, till in 1834 he was appointed president of a law commission for India, and legal member of the Supreme Council of India. Though the inducement to accept these offices was mainly a pecuniary one—that he might from his salary of £10,000 a year restore the fortunes of the family shattered by the disasters of his father,—he discharged his duties with the utmost efficiency and with exceptional success. The Penal Code prepared by him, and the Code of Criminal Procedure he drafted, have been pronounced by the highest legal authorities as sufficient in themselves to establish his fame as a jurist and to make his name memorable in the history of India.

On his return to England in 1838, with a fortune sufficient for his simple requirements, he wrote more essays for the *Edinburgh Review* (even in India he had written two), began his *Lays of Ancient Rome*, and re-entered Parliament in 1839, now as member for Edinburgh. As Secretary-at-War he joined the Whig ministry of Lord Melbourne, already tottering to its fall, and did all that one man could do to stave off the ruin that befell the Whigs in 1841. He returned to office in 1846 as Paymaster-general, but, losing his seat for Edinburgh in 1847, he practically ended his political life in that year. Though re-elected for Edinburgh in 1852 on the initiative, and by the efforts, of the electors themselves, he never again took a prominent part in politics, and finally terminated his political career by resigning his seat in 1856.

Since his return from India, and especially since his release from office in 1841, Macaulay had been gravitating more and

more to a purely literary life. He published his *Lays of Ancient Rome* in 1842, and the qualities of simplicity, energy, directness, and force which marked them, secured their immediate and wide popularity. Many of his best essays were also contributed by him at this time to the *Edinburgh Review*, notably those on Temple, Clive, Hastings, Addison, and Chatham. But he ceased to contribute in 1844, as he wished to concentrate his energies on a work which he had begun in March, 1839—"the *History of England*, from the accession of King James the Second down to a time which is within the memory of men still living". The first two volumes of this, his master-piece, appeared in 1848, and were received with a favour that recalled the popularity of Byron's poems and Scott's novels. In less than four months 13,000 copies had been sold. It was the greatest of the long series of Macaulay's successes. A like triumph followed on the publication of the second two volumes in 1855. His literary eminence was fittingly recognized. He was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University in 1848, and he received innumerable honours from learned bodies at home and abroad. In 1857 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Macaulay of Rothley. The short period of life that remained he spent in the continuation of his *History*, but he did not live long enough to carry it down beyond 1700. He died suddenly on the 28th of December, 1859, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He had noted in his diary on his fifty-first birthday: "I have had a happy life. I do not know that any one, whom I have seen close, has had a happier." These words will be readily endorsed by every reader of his Life, and most, if not all, will be inclined to add that his good fortune was not beyond his deserts.

2. CRITICISM OF THE ESSAY

The essay on Warren Hastings ranks high among the writings of Macaulay. The variety of the incidents and the gorgeousness of the descriptions, the vigour of the narrative and the acuteness of the reasoning, are sufficient to account

for its great popularity. The clearness and firmness of the outline, the glow and brilliancy of the colour, the nice proportion and harmony of the parts, the picturesqueness and finish of the details, combine to make an historic painting that of itself would have secured to Macaulay a place among the great Masters. It contains the finest specimens of both the excellences and the defects of his literary art. The "purple patch" of the trial scene in Westminster Hall is a set-off against the flagrant distortion of facts which passes for an account of the Rohilla war. His powers of vivid description and amazing misrepresentation have here their finest field in a theme of the greatest complexity and materials of the most controversial nature.

The essay is emphatically a problem-essay. It embraces the most tangled of historical questions—the Rohilla war, the story of Nuncomar, the judicial career of Impey, the exactions from the Rajah of Benares and from the Begums of Oude. As if these were not enough by themselves, Macaulay has gaily thrown in the most contentious of literary topics—the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. Every one of these questions has been fought over again and again by men the most eminent in their respective spheres. The political questions formed a battlefield for English parties on which a generation of political giants—Fox, Burke, and Sheridan—fought with unexampled ardour. The judicial questions have been investigated many times since by what may be called a self-constituted Court of Appeal, of which Sir James Stephen has been the chief member. In controversies so keen and so prolonged, facts have suffered till it seems impossible to arrive at the truth. It would be difficult to mention any other name around which so fierce a war has been waged. Hastings seemed fated from his birth to give rise to controversy. His very birthplace is claimed by two different parishes and two different counties; his father remains a shadowy figure, enveloped in a mystery that no research can dispel.

Even if the facts of Hastings' career had been as certain and indisputable as they are the reverse, the task of his

biographer would have been one of the heaviest because of the extraordinary complexity of the story. There is not only a bewildering variety of subject, but the scene is constantly shifting from one part of India to another, and not infrequently from India to England. The distractions that puzzled Hastings in his own lifetime are reflected in the difficulty to which his biographer is exposed by the inextricably intricate thread of the story. It is only when we read the narratives of such men as Mill and Gleig that we fully appreciate the extent to which Macaulay has overcome the difficulty. The ingenuity with which he has united so many diverse incidents, and the skill with which he passes from one to another, constitute a literary triumph of the first order. As an example, consider the transition from the summary of Hastings' rule in India to a resumption of the narrative of the events in Hastings' career. So skilfully contrived is the *callida junctura* that most people, at a first reading of the essay, would be unable to perceive that there was any transition at all.

If one were to confine attention to the artistic skill of the composition, the only possible verdict on the merit of the essay would be that it was beyond all praise. But when one examines into the truth of the facts, and the impartiality of the tone, a very different opinion is formed. Where the materials are so contentious we look for the highest qualities of the judge and the complete suppression of the spirit of the advocate. With Macaulay, however, the advocate invariably gets the better of the judge, and nowhere more than in this essay. The brusque, unhesitating manner in which he makes the most sweeping assertions is sure to carry conviction with it to any one who is off his guard. The opinions he has formed are so decided that he selects his facts and gives them prominence in such a way as to compel the reader to come to the same conclusions. Impey, for example, he considers so hopelessly bad that any statement may be hazarded about him; hence the imaginary and impossible picture of him as a fag to Hastings at school.

Much of this partiality is due to Macaulay's peculiar style, which admitted of no half-tones. But some of it may be

attributed to the Whig tradition which surrounded him as an atmosphere. An habitué of Holland House could not be expected to see Hastings in a very different light from that in which Fox had seen him. Unfortunately, this Whig tradition had been corrupted in its source by the sleepless malignity of Francis, the close associate of Burke and the other Whig leaders. Francis had his own personal reasons for disliking Hastings, and still more for disliking Impey; but the materials his venomous spirit supplied have filtered through many different writers until, appearing in Macaulay's pellucid narrative, they have been accepted as the final and irrefutable statement of the truth. It is impossible in an Introduction to mention all the different points on which subsequent investigation has shown Macaulay to have been misled by his authorities. It must suffice here to give a general view of the extent to which the essay is vitiated by the omission or distortion of important facts.

It is not a little significant that, whereas Macaulay gives a full account of the internal state of Bengal at the beginning of Hastings' rule, he gives no corresponding summary of the external conditions in which the province was placed by the dissolution of the Mogul Empire and the rise of new powers. If he had done so, his account of "the plundering of the Mogul and the enslaving of the Rohillas" would have been impossible. There is something approaching deliberate misrepresentation in the care with which he suppresses all mention of the Mahrattas in connection with these two questions. He tells us that "on the plea that the Mogul was merely a tool in the hands of *others*" Hastings discontinued the tribute to the Mogul, and resumed the districts of Corah and Allahabad which had been assigned to him by Clive. Who would suspect that the "*others*" so lightly passed over—even their name suppressed—were the Mahrattas, the most dangerous rivals Hastings had to contend with? But the thesis Macaulay had set himself to establish was that "the object of Hastings' diplomacy was at this time simply to get money". Hence it was necessary for him to ignore the Mahrattas, who were the determining factor in Hastings'

foreign policy. A general view of the relations between the British power in India and the Native powers was an inevitable part of the essay, but it had to be postponed from its natural place to allow of an unfettered misrepresentation of Hastings' attitude on these two questions. The first requisite, however, to a just appreciation of these problems is a general view of what may be called the international relations existing between the different powers in India in the time of Hastings.

These relations were extremely anomalous. There was no single power which could be considered as supreme. The nominal unity that had existed under the supremacy of the Mogul in the first half of the eighteenth century had been fast disappearing even before Clive dealt it a fatal blow. At that time there were nine powers capable of forming a nucleus of empire in the impending anarchy, but all nominally subordinate to, and included within, the Mogul Empire. The situation, which was one of highly unstable equilibrium, might be represented thus:—

MOGUL EMPIRE			
Invaders (<i>Persians and Afghans</i>).	Native Powers (<i>Hindu</i>).	Deputy Powers (<i>Mohammedan</i>).	European Powers (<i>Mercantile</i>).
Nadir Shah (1739)	Mahrattas	Oude	British
Ahmed Shah (1761)	Rajputs	Bengal	French
	Sikhs	Deccan, including Carnatic	Dutch

As the result of Clive's exploits, the French and the Dutch disappeared as serious rivals of the British; the Deputy-powers in Oude and the Deccan were more or less subordinated to the Company, while that in Bengal was practically absorbed by it. The Rajputs and Sikhs did not become formidable till the nineteenth century. Thus the Mahrattas alone were to be feared by the British in the competition for the inheritance of the Moguls. Later, indeed, an additional competitor arose in the person of Hyder Ali, but the danger from him lay in his own ability and energy, not in the state which he had carved out for himself. The shadowy powers which existed outside the two great rivals tended to group

themselves round the one or the other, so that the political situation in the time of Hastings might be represented thus:—

MAHRATTAS			BRITISH	
Gwalior Indore Guzerat Berar ¹ Poonah	Dependent	Unattached	Dependent	
<i>Sattara</i> <i>Gooti</i> <i>Tanjore</i>	The Mogul	Sikhs Rajpoots Rohillas Nizam Hyder Ali	Oude Benares Berar ¹	Bengal Bombay Madras

The Mahrattas were a fairly equal match for the British at this time. Even as early as 1756 they had impressed their neighbours with a sense of their power, so that the president and council of Madras recorded the opinion: "We look on the Mahrattas to be more than a match for the whole empire, were no European force to interfere". Their terrible defeat at Paniput in 1761 by Ahmed Shah, the Abdali, had checked their expansion only for a moment. They now formed a loose confederation which extended from Guzerat to Orissa and from Gwalior to Mysore. Their capture of Delhi and the Mogul in 1771 gave them the appearance, and almost the reality, of supreme power in India. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance to the British to prevent any further expansion of this dangerous rival. To checkmate the Mahrattas and to strengthen the buffer-state of Oude became the cardinal features of Hastings' foreign policy. The discontinuance of the tribute to the Mogul, and the resumption of Corah and Allahabad, followed by their cession to the Nabob of Oude, were necessary steps in the carrying out of this policy. The Rohilla war originated in the same policy, although some objectionable features have led to a marvellous misrepresentation of it by Macaulay.

In his account we are presented with an idealized picture of a noble race, flourishing in a romantic valley, cultivating

¹ Berar, one of the chief Mahratta powers, was won (or bought over) by Hastings.

the arts of peace, and bringing back to the earth the long-lost Golden Age. To this beautiful idyll succeeds an imaginary picture of a scene of ruthless destruction and utter desolation—the horrors of Eastern warfare and the iniquities of Western adventurers. The author of the awful change is represented as an unscrupulous and callous ruler whose one object is to get money, in pursuance of which he hesitates not to lend out British troops to an Oriental despot to assist in an unprovoked attack on an innocent people.

Such a representation of Hastings' conduct might be pardonable in Burke, who, as a manager of the impeachment, was bound to play the part of *advocatus diaboli*. But to arrive at the truth we must hear the case for the defence as put so ably by Sir John Strachey in his book on *Hastings and the Rohilla War*. The facts here collected, by one long resident in the country of the Rohillas and thoroughly conversant with every detail of the question, have completely demolished Macaulay's loosely-built pile of rhetoric and declamation.

The Rohillas (*i.e.* Highlanders) were really a conquering people of Afghan race, who had subjugated the less warlike Hindus and appropriated their lands about forty years before. With many of the virtues of the Afghan immigrants they retained many of their characteristic vices—treachery, cruelty, vindictiveness, scorn of peaceful industry. "Agriculture and commerce flourished among them," says Macaulay, but if so it was only to the extent that the conquered Hindus were permitted to supply them with the produce of the soil and the products of their crafts. "The Rohillas", said Middleton, the British resident at Lucknow during the war, "never applied themselves to any profession but arms, never to husbandry, manufactures, or mechanic arts."

The cause which led to Hastings' intervention with this far from peaceful people was simply, according to Macaulay, the desire for money. The absurd pleas put forward by Gleig and Major Scott gave Macaulay an opportunity for a cheap triumph which he was not slow to make the most of. But the refutation and ridicule of worthless arguments must

not deceive us into supposing that Macaulay has thereby established his own case. He has carefully avoided everything bearing on the relations of the Rohillas to neighbouring states, and treats of them as if they had been completely isolated. But, as already pointed out, the Rohillas were in the midst of contending states to whom their attitude was of vital importance. On their eastern boundary was the province of Oude, which had been under British protection since the battle of Buxar in 1764; their western frontier shaded into Mahratta territory. The political situation was one that has become familiar enough to us in the nineteenth century. Our Afghan wars, and many a frontier war such as that of Chitral, have arisen under similar conditions. The treaties entered into by Hastings and the vassal state of Oude with the Rohillas have their counterpart in many a subsequent chapter of Indian history.

In 1772, as in 1759, the Mahrattas invaded Rohilcund, and the help of the Nabob of Oude was invoked to repel the invader. The Nabob endeavoured to obtain the co-operation of the Calcutta Council, who, however, merely despatched their commander-in-chief, Sir Robert Barker, to report on the general situation. On his arrival a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Nabob and the Rohillas was by his means drawn up and concluded, his signature being appended as a witness—not as a party—to the treaty. This attestation was regarded as a guarantee to the Nabob for the fulfilment of the treaty. In 1773, in accordance with this understanding, English soldiers entered Oude to assist the Nabob's troops in repelling a threatened Mahratta incursion into Rohilcund. The terror of the English name was, however, so great that the mere rumour of their coming made the Mahrattas draw back. The Rohillas, finding themselves free from danger, now evaded the payment of £400,000, which by the treaty they had bound themselves to pay to the Nabob for his help. In defence of the repudiation of their engagement it has been contended that they had not required the active defence of their ally, and were consequently not liable to the Nabob. The latter was not to be put off by

such an evasion. He was further provoked by the ambiguous conduct of the Rohillas at the time of the threatened invasion, one of their chiefs having actually joined the Mahrattas. Their negotiations with the Mahrattas had led to the suspicion that they might form an alliance with those formidable enemies against Oude, and the expediency of seizing the country to prevent this danger now occurred to the Nabob. He discussed the matter with Sir Robert Barker, and later, in September, 1773, concluded a treaty at Benares with Hastings, of which the chief provisions were :—

“Whereas the Rohilla chiefs, in the month of June, 1772, entered into a treaty with the Vizier, in the presence and with the concurrence of General Sir Robert Barker, by which they engaged to pay him forty lacs of rupees for his assistance against the Mahrattas, which treaty they have treacherously broken; it is therefore agreed that a brigade of the Company's forces shall join the Vizier, and assist to punish them, and that he shall pay the whole of its expense. The Vizier shall retain as his own that part of the Rohilla country which lies on the north-east side of the Ganges, but in consideration of the Company's relinquishing all claim to share in the said country, although it is to be conquered by their joint forces, the Vizier engages to make them an acknowledgment of forty lacs of rupees, and in future to defray the whole expense of the Company's troops, . . . whenever he has occasion for their assistance”.

The treaty did not take effect immediately, as the Nabob felt the conditions too onerous, and Hastings was not sorry to let the matter drop. “I was glad to be free from the Rohilla expedition,” he wrote (12th October, 1773), “because I was doubtful of the judgment which would have been passed on it at home, where I see too much stress laid on general maxims and too little attention given to the circumstances which require an exception to be made from them. . . . The absence of the Mahrattas and the weak state of the Rohillas promised an easy conquest of them, and I own that such was my idea of the Company's distress at home, added to my knowledge of their wants abroad, that I should have been glad of any occasion to employ their forces which saves so much of their pay and expenses.” The hesitation of Hastings to carry through the doubtful scheme was shared in

by the Council at Calcutta, whose reluctant assent was only accorded to it after much discussion and division of opinion. Not till February, 1774, were matters finally arranged between the Nabob and the Council. Then Colonel Champion, with a brigade of the native Bengal army, stiffened with an English regiment, entered Oude. The Rohillas, now realizing their danger, attempted to negotiate, but did not comply with the Nabob's demand of compensation for the withholding of the forty lacs due to him under the treaty of 1772. The result of the military operations was that the Rohilla power was completely destroyed, and Oude now received its "natural boundaries", or, in the phrase of later times, its "scientific frontier".

The conduct of Hastings is censured not only with reference to the cause of the Rohilla war but also in regard to the atrocities, which, it is alleged, were appalling, throughout its progress. If such atrocities occurred it is useless to deny Hastings' responsibility on the ground assigned by Gleig, that the British officers were in the service of the Nabob and were consequently precluded from opposing, or even remonstrating with, their employer. If atrocities were rendered possible by the help of the British force, and no precautions were taken to guard against the worst features of Indian warfare, then Hastings must be held responsible for them. That he took no such precautions, and was slow in providing a remedy even when the atrocities of the Nabob's troops were reported to him, must always remain a great blot on his career, and to some extent justify the charge brought against him. But the picture of ravaging and ruin has been coloured far too highly by his accusers. "More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to the pestilential jungles," &c. The only flight on the part of the peaceful inhabitants was from the seat of war while hostilities were going on. Even with regard to the Rohilla warriors, only those in arms were compelled to leave the country and take refuge—not "in pestilential jungles" but with their countrymen who had previously settled on the western bank of the Ganges. It was admitted by Champion (a witness hostile to Hastings),

in his evidence before the House of Commons, that only about 20,000 men in arms were expelled; that none were put to death in cold blood; and that over 40,000 remained at Rampore, in Rohilcund, under a chief of their own race. The expulsion, which, under the name of "extermination" or "extirpation", was commonly misunderstood to have been a massacre, was justified by Hastings in a very plausible statement: "We conquered the country from the conquerors of it, and substituted another rule in the place of theirs, upon the same principle of right and usage (the right of the war being presupposed) as a British commander in Europe would expel the soldiers of a conquered town, and garrison it with his own, which, by the same figure of speech and with equal propriety, might be called an 'extirpation'."

On the whole question the verdict of Sir Alfred Lyall will probably commend itself to most people: "It must be confessed that the war has left a stain upon the reputation of the Company in India, where a shifty line of policy is far more unsafe than a weak frontier. . . . The expedition against the Rohillas was wrong in principle, for they had not provoked us, and the Vizier could only be relied upon to abuse his advantages. . . . On the other hand, Macaulay's splendid and glittering phrases have thrown a false air of romance over the real origin and character of the Rohilla chiefships, which merely represented the fortuitous partition of an imperial province among military adventurers. In their origin, political constitution, and their relation to the bulk of the people, they might be likened to the Mamelukes of Egypt, who also were a military confederacy under a chief of their own, paying a nominal allegiance to the Sultan for a province which they had seized. And they were in reality suppressed for reasons not unlike those which led to the political destruction of Poland: because their constitution was weak and turbulent, and because, therefore, they could not be trusted to hold an important position on the frontiers of more powerful states."

The Benares question is much more fairly stated by Macaulay, but even here the prejudice against Hastings

leads to a distortion of facts. "Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and for that end to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly the Rajah was now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British government." The demand did not originate with Hastings, as Macaulay's statement would suggest, but with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote. Nor was the demand unreasonable, considering the extremity of danger in which British power then was. There was, moreover, a suspicion that the Rajah was disaffected, and was preparing to throw in his lot with the formidable confederacy that already confronted Hastings. While these circumstances might justify the exaction of a fine for non-compliance with his demand, it is generally admitted that the fine of half a million was excessive. The surprise Macaulay expresses at Pitt's attitude on the matter is due to a misapprehension. It was not the mere amount of the fine that determined Pitt's course; the exorbitancy of it satisfied him that Hastings had schemed "to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him". The refusal of the Rajah undoubtedly presented a rare opportunity to a governor so poor in money and so rich in devices. On his own admission Hastings made the most of his opportunity. So far from Pitt's course being unintelligible, it is in the opinion of many—Lord Rosebery among others—the course most justified by all the circumstances of the case.

There is greater scope for misrepresentation in the charge of extorting money from the Begums of Oude. Here, indeed, Macaulay admits the danger of Oude being overrun by the Mahrattas, the necessity for British troops, and the consequent justice of payment from the Nabob's funds. To obtain money for this purpose, the Nabob bethought him of the treasure his father had left. Considering it government property, unlawfully appropriated by the Begums under a will which was never produced, he did not *extort* money, but gave lands in exchange for what he received, and insisted on the surrender of the treasure to himself as its rightful owner. The treaty that was made with the sanction of the Calcutta Council was directly contrary to Hastings' recom-

mendation, and must be set down as part of the harassing policy of the majority. The treaty (whether revocable or not is disputed) was adhered to until the extreme pressure of the Mahratta and Mysore wars compelled Hastings to draw from every source of revenue to which he had a colourable claim. The evidence of the Begums' participation in the Benares insurrection is not so slender as Macaulay would represent it, and the filial remorse which led the Nabob to evade his agreement with Hastings amounted to nothing more than a wholesome dread of his grandmother, "a woman of a very violent spirit". The "two ancient men"—the very expression copied from Mill warns us we are in the region of rhetoric, not of truth—were not the innocent helpless creatures we might expect from the pathetic description of them. They were really very capable business men, who were not to be easily persuaded to let out of their keeping anything so valuable as three millions. The story, however, is one which lends itself pre-eminently to rhetoric, and Hastings has suffered accordingly.

The relations of Hastings with Impey have been almost as fruitful of charges as his relations with the dependent powers. There is this difference, however, in Macaulay's handling of the two sets of charges: in the one, Hastings alone is blamed; in the other, he is partially exculpated, but only that Impey may appear a villain of still deeper dye. The animus of Macaulay against the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is of that peculiarly virulent sort which he reserved for a few pet aversions—for Croker, his own contemporary, and for Jeffreys, the Impey of the seventeenth century.

The most serious charge against the two associates in crime is that they conspired to effect the judicial murder of Nuncomar: that "Impey hanged Nuncomar to support Hastings", and that Hastings was aiding and abetting in the nefarious scheme. The whole story is based on the suspicion arising from the opportuneness with which the charge of forgery against Nuncomar was brought forward. The motive for the crime is alleged to have been the desire of Hastings to stifle enquiry into the charge of accepting

bribes which had been brought against him by Nuncomar. Driven to bay by the cunningly-laid plot of his old enemy, he (it is said) trumped up a counter-charge, and, by secret influence with his friend Impey, procured the death-sentence and execution of his dangerous foe. If the alleged motive can be disposed of by showing that the charge against Hastings had little or no foundation, or that Hastings was not in imminent danger even although the charge against him had been proved, the case must be greatly weakened, if not entirely demolished. The facts brought together by Sir James Stephen, in the *Story of Nuncomar*, are decisive on this point. The alleged bribe of £30,000 from the Munny Begum at Moorshedabad resolves itself into the customary offering of a lac and a half to the Governor of Bengal when on a visit to the Nabob. A similar offering had been made to all the predecessors of Hastings. The story which Nuncomar fabricated from this small substratum of fact was so contradictory, in the different forms in which he put it, that no impartial tribunal would have accepted it as true. Further, if Hastings were guilty of the charge, he did not improve his position by putting Nuncomar out of the way. The evidence of Nuncomar had been already given, and the persons he had named as concerned in the transaction might be interrogated. Hastings was still liable to be recalled in disgrace by the Directors, and to be proceeded against in Chancery for the £30,000 he was alleged to have appropriated. He could not desire Nuncomar's death that he might retain his office, for, within a fortnight after the accusation, he authorized his agent in London to tender his resignation "if the first advices from England contain a disapprobation of the treaty of Benares or of the Rohilla war, and mark an evident disinclination towards me". The guilt of Hastings has been too hastily assumed, by Mill, Burke, and others, to be proved from the fact that the Governor-General denied the competence of the Council to examine into the charges brought before it by Nuncomar. But it was surely natural that the head of a government should resent the disgrace of being accused in a Council over which he himself presided.

The offer made by Hastings that a committee of the Council should investigate the matter was, in the circumstances, quite reasonable. "Had the majority been disposed to accept of my proposition of appointing a committee for prosecuting their enquiries, they might have obtained the same knowledge and all the satisfaction in this way that they could have expected from an inquisition taken by the Board at large, their proceedings would have had the appearance at least of regularity, and my credit would have been less affected by them. The only point which they could possibly gain by persisting in bringing such a subject before the Board was to gain a public triumph over me, and expose my place and person to insult."

While the motive of the alleged crime is thus disposed of, the suspicion that Hastings was the secret instigator of the charge against Nuncomar can be shown to be groundless. The point-blank assertion of Macaulay to the contrary will carry conviction with many, merely from its emphasis and epigrammatic sting: "It is the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business". Yet the imputation of forgery had been made against Nuncomar long before the affair with Hastings arose, in connection with a civil suit which had been going on for two years before. Until certain documents in this process had been obtained a prosecution for forgery could not be instituted, and it was not till after the establishment of the Supreme Court that these documents were got hold of. Then the case was proceeded with at once, and the charge of forgery was brought against Nuncomar in the ordinary course. The time at which it was brought *happened* to coincide with the time at which it was convenient for Hastings that a counter-attack should be made on his enemy. But the opportuneness of the charge is the sole ground for attributing it to the instigation of Hastings. That it was a trumped-up charge, and that the trial was a farce, can scarcely be maintained in the face of Sir J. Stephen's exhaustive discussion of the case. The trial took place before the whole of the judges of the Supreme Court, and not

before Impey alone, as Macaulay's account leads one to suppose. The trial lasted for a week in an Indian June, and such respect was paid to all formalities that the judges wore their wigs all through the trial in spite of the excessive heat. An able lawyer defended Nuncomar, an English jury gave the verdict, and the judges of the court were unanimous. Nothing came out in the course of the trial to support the idea that the prosecution had been brought in collusion with Hastings, and if there had been any such thing, it is scarcely possible that the cross-examination would not have brought it out. On the whole question, therefore, Hastings is entitled to a verdict of "not proven", if not to one of "not guilty". "No evidence", says Sir A. Lyall, "can be produced to justify conclusions adverse to the innocence of Hastings upon a charge that has, from its nature, affected the popular tradition regarding him far more deeply than the accusations of high-handed, oppressive political transactions, which are little understood and leniently condemned by the English at large. There is really nothing to prove that he had anything to do with the prosecution, or that he influenced the sentence; for the circumstances which have been strung together to support the belief in his guilt are all reconcilable with a theory of his innocence." There is certainly nothing decisive (as Macaulay would have us believe) in Hastings' reference to Impey as "the man to whose support I was at one time indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and reputation". These words apply equally well to the decision given by Impey in the Supreme Court in 1777, when the validity of Hastings' resignation was submitted to the Chief Justice. What renders this explanation the more probable one is that a similar expression occurs in one of Impey's letters of about the same date, and the reference there is almost certainly to the decision about the resignation: "The power which is exerted against me would not have existed in the hands in which it is, if I had not helped to keep it there". But even though the reference in Hastings' letter were to Nuncomar's case, it does not prove that there was any collusion or private

understanding in arriving at the decision. The "support" may have been given independently and accidentally by Impey in the ordinary discharge of his judicial office. The evidence against Hastings and his friend Impey must be considered by all impartial persons as too slight to justify so serious a charge as that of a judicial murder.

In the account of the struggle between the Supreme Court and the Calcutta Council we have one of the most graphic, but least trustworthy, parts of the essay. The boundary line between the Judiciary and the Executive has never been delimited in any constitutional state except after a long period of struggle. The inevitable conflict in British India was precipitated and aggravated by the exceptionally loose wording of the clauses in the Regulating Act. That this was the source of all the evil is admitted by Macaulay himself: "The authors of the Regulating Act had established two independent powers, and had omitted to define the limits of either". To make matters worse, the judges of the Supreme Court naturally considered themselves Crown officers, whose duty it was to prevent the Company's servants from inflicting any wrong on the natives. A conflict in such circumstances was inevitable, and some adjustment between the "two independent powers" was obviously a necessity. The extent of that conflict and the plan of that adjustment have been misrepresented by Macaulay, as was to be expected in a story where Impey and Hastings were the two outstanding figures. The jurisdiction claimed by the Court was not over all and sundry in the province of Bengal, but only over the servants of the Company, and in questions in which servants of the Company were involved. For the most part, therefore, women were excluded from its jurisdiction, and Macaulay's picture of a reign of terror, the humiliation of noble families, and outrages on women, must be regarded as almost, if not wholly, imaginary. His sweeping assertions—"there were instances"—are proved on investigation to be random generalizations from *one* instance given in each case by Mill, and, even when so reduced, are highly coloured and grossly exaggerated for picturesque

effect. The adjustment of the quarrel did not take place in the manner or at the time Macaulay's narrative suggests. "The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous". The natural interpretation of this stinging sentence is that there was danger of a civil war breaking out, and that it was only averted by Hastings "squaring" Impey. As a matter of fact, a conflict did take place, in January, 1780, when the sheriff's officers were arrested by two companies of sepoy's under orders from the Council. A proclamation had been issued by the Council informing the natives they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the Court, and could defy its orders. The Executive, with military force at its back, had already restrained the jurisdiction of the Court, and the pretensions of the latter were effectively disposed of. The matter had thus been fought out, and an issue favourable to the Council arrived at, nine months before the judicial powers vested in the Council were conferred upon Impey. The appointment was accepted by Impey only provisionally, and the salary attached to it he refused to accept until the opinion of the Lord Chancellor should be ascertained as to its legality. "The measure", says Sir A. Lyall, "was at once politic, practical, and effective; it terminated by a master-stroke the conflict of jurisdictions; it disarmed and conciliated the Chief Justice; and it undoubtedly placed the country courts, which had been dispensing a very haphazard and intuitive kind of justice, for the first time under a person who could guide and control them upon recognized principles."

The stains on Hastings' character thus appear, in the light of recent investigation, not so dark or so deep as they are represented in Macaulay's picture. They have hitherto had the effect, however, of drawing off attention from the really important services rendered by Hastings in the organization and administration of a great province as well as in the saving of British India from the most dangerous combination of foes by which it was ever assailed. While the great Empire of the west was being lost, the Empire

of the east was saved, and that result was due to Hastings more than to any other man. The open foes—the Mahrattas, Hyder Ali, the French—were scarcely more formidable than the incompetent governments at Bombay and Madras, the divided Council at Calcutta, and the variable Board of Directors in London. In the midst of a political storm, seldom if ever equalled, the captain of the crazy vessel had his orders disputed and contradicted, but in spite of all, he weathered the storm and brought his ship safe into harbour. Though there is less glamour about the career of Hastings than about that of Clive, the interest is not less to those who take pleasure in following the play of a fine intellect confronted with extraordinary difficulties. If there is less of the sensationally striking, there is more of the intellectually fascinating. If the career of Clive, the warrior and founder of a great empire, is more attractive to the ordinary reader, that of Hastings, the organizer and saviour of the empire, will always appeal strongly to the student of human nature. It must be admitted that, compared with Clive's open and simple character, that of Hastings appears somewhat enigmatic and decidedly elusive. But certain qualities stand out beyond all question—his tenacity of purpose, his resourcefulness amid difficulties, his equanimity in danger, his talent for organization, and his capacity for rule. The pressure of difficulties seems to have worked upon his conscience, converting it into a most useful ally for the unflinching execution of his plans. The facility with which he could range his conscience on the side of his interest was amazing, but not without parallel among politicians before his time and since. Thus, of Cromwell and his war with Spain it has been acutely observed by Mr. Round: "However much he might flatter himself that he had made religion one of the corner-stones of the war, the war he projected was one for material gains. It was the material, the mundane aspect of politics which had gained the upper hand".¹ A self-deception similar to this is all too common in the career of Hastings. That he was sincere in the

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1899.

appeals to his conscience which occur so frequently in his letters admits of no doubt. His sincerity, however, does not necessarily prove that he was right; it may only serve to show how elastic his conscience had become. The character of Hastings must, therefore, remain to some extent enigmatic; but the very fact that there is a mystery about it will only make it the more fascinating to students of moral and historical problems.

3. THE STYLE OF THE ESSAY

The popularity of Macaulay's style is proved, not only by the enormous circulation of his works, but also by the numberless attempts at imitation which it provoked. It is not too much to say that his style has become the model for all journalists and expositors—for all who want to command the ready attention of a wide and popular audience on everyday topics. The faults and disadvantages of the style are glaring enough, but if the popular verdict be decisive in such a matter—as, surely, it ought to be—there is no style more deserving of the student's careful attention and assiduous imitation. We must study other writers for the highest qualities of prose style: Dryden, for masculine energy and impetuous directness; Addison, for refinement, delicacy, and humour; Burke, for unequalled splendour of imagery: De Quincey draws out all the music and the melody of words; Lamb has concentrated in himself all the quaintness and drollery that lurk in our older writers like Fuller and Browne; Carlyle has given us the supreme example of Titanic energy and undisciplined force. But no writer in the whole range of English literature will give us a style with more *serviceable* qualities than Macaulay. Not one person in a thousand will ever need to write with any other qualities of style than Clearness and Vividness, and the great master for these homely and despised, but essential and rare, excellences is Macaulay.

That Clearness, or Intelligibility, is a necessary quality of style is readily admitted by everyone. Whatever is written

is presumably intended to be read. The reader's task, therefore, should be made easy, by the selecting of such words, and the arranging of them in such constructions, as will make the writer's meaning intelligible at a glance. "Economize the reader's attention": that is Herbert Spencer's summary of the rules of composition. Just as the style of handwriting most deserving to be cultivated is that which is the most legible, so the style of composition to be aimed at should be, above all things, absolutely clear and intelligible. "The first rule of all writing—that rule to which every other is subordinate—is that the words used by the writer shall be such as most fully and precisely convey his meaning to the great body of his readers. All considerations about the purity and dignity of style ought to bend to this consideration."¹ But the writer's task is only half done when he has put his subject-matter into the most suitable form; he must use every device to stimulate the mind of his reader, so that every point will be eagerly grasped and easily retained. The Vigour and Animation of the style must bring the reader into the closest possible contact with the mind of the writer who has already come half-way by the clear arrangement of his thought.

An analysis of the devices used by Macaulay to attain to his matchless combination of Clearness and Force forms the best training in Composition that can be given to anyone. The student should especially note the following points: the kind and number of the words Macaulay uses; the length and arrangement of his sentence; the structure and sequence of his paragraphs; and his use of the Figures of Speech.

In his choice of words Macaulay is not hampered by a predilection like Johnson's for words of Latin origin, or like Freeman's for words derived from the Anglo-Saxon. He chooses always the most serviceable word—that which most clearly and forcibly expresses his meaning. He does not need to go outside the English language for a word to express all that he has to say; he neither borrows from foreign

¹ Macaulay to Macvey Napier, 18th April, 1842.

languages nor coins new words in his own. He may use a homely expression—as in the essay on Milton, ‘fee-faw-fum’—rather than have his point missed, but he has a healthy detestation of slang. If he must use a doubtful word, he guards himself by some saving phrase, as in the essay on Walpole—“passages which, *in our school-days*, we used to call *skip*”; and in the essay on Pitt—“what is *in our day* vulgarly called *humbug*”. He always selected the most telling word, because with his extraordinary memory he could draw upon an inexhaustible vocabulary. The wealth of his vocabulary did not make him wasteful of his words. He was profuse in his illustrations, not diffuse in his language. It is really poverty of language that causes the lavish waste of words. If the one right word is missed, the meaning is perforce expressed by a circumlocution. One secret of Macaulay’s animation is to be found in the precision and conciseness of his language.

It is in the length and arrangement of the sentence that we find the most striking characteristic of Macaulay’s style. His short, emphatic sentence has become proverbial. The long sentence rarely occurs, and when it does, it is as a set-off to a series of short, staccato sentences that have gone before or are to follow immediately. Even in a long sentence, the construction is never involved, much less heterogeneous. Its length is due to the piling on of phrases of the same sort, rather than to the addition of clauses of diverse rank. The examiner who wishes to find a difficult passage in grammatical analysis can range no poorer hunting-ground than Macaulay’s essays. Sentence after sentence is ‘simple’; the ‘complex’, when found, presents no difficulty, even to a beginner.

This essay, abounding as it does in masterly examples of description and narration, contains far more than the average number of short sentences. How extremely effective this simple device may be can readily be seen from the story of the trial of Nuncomar, the description of the wars with the Mahrattas and with Hyder Ali, and the narrative of Hastings’ dealings with Cheyte Sing and the Begums of Oude.¹ It

¹ §§ 60-70, 84-89, 103-107, 115-125, 130-136.

will be observed that as the description gathers in interest, or the narrative grows in excitement, Macaulay's sentences shorten till they seem to come from a breathless and all-absorbed narrator. Just as Livy in similar circumstances drops off from his usual full-flowing period to the disconnected loose clauses of the historic infinitive, so Macaulay no sooner touches excitement-point than he goes off into his series of abrupt, startling, emphatic sentences.

The arrangement of Macaulay's sentence especially conduces to vividness and force. His style is emphatically 'pointed': he delights in balance, antithesis, epigram. Not only is word set off against word and phrase against phrase, but clause is balanced against clause and sentence against sentence. The first half of the sentence frequently suggests what the second half is to be. The reader's task is thus made easy, when the mind can anticipate, as in Pope's heroic couplet, what is to be said in the latter half of the sentence. This balanced arrangement naturally leads to pointed contrasts in the two halves of the sentence, and in extreme cases to epigrams. By a juxtaposition of opposites the greatest prominence is given to each element in the contrast, and the reader's attention is thereby instantaneously seized. Examples of this peculiarity are to be found especially in the essays containing—like those on Walpole, Byron, and Johnson—an analysis of men who are supposed to be "bundles of contradictions".

In the arrangement of the paragraph, Macaulay's art is easily seen. In the opening sentence he often states with emphasis what the subject is to be. If, for the sake of variety and in order to arouse attention, he has started away from the subject, he does not keep us long in suspense as to what his main point is. If the paragraph is descriptive, the sentences fall into an ascending series, till at last we have a flowing period, in which epithet is piled upon epithet and phrase rolls after phrase, so that we are overwhelmed in the full tide of his eloquence. If the paragraph is argumentative, after maintaining his point—too often with unnecessary iteration and superfluous illustration—he clenches

it with one of his curt, emphatic sentences, that never seem so dogmatic or final as when they appear at the close of a paragraph. The judge has given his decision. The last word on the question has been spoken.

The sequence of his paragraphs should be carefully studied. Not only does he confine himself rigidly in each paragraph to one particular point, but one paragraph follows another in the most strictly logical order. The last sentence in one usually supplies the point of departure in the next. To bring out his linking of paragraphs the student should write a *précis* of each one: only by so doing can he fully appreciate the strictness with which Macaulay has adhered to the logical sequence of the different parts of his subject.

Figures of speech are used by Macaulay freely, and they are introduced always with the same object—to add to the clearness and vividness of his pictures and his arguments. What he has said of Dante's similes is true of his own: "They are introduced in a plain, business-like manner; not for the sake of any beauty in the objects from which they are drawn; not for the sake of any ornament which they may impart; but simply in order to make the meaning of the writer as clear to the reader as it is to himself". The figures he uses most frequently are the Simile, the Metaphor, Metonymy, and Antithesis. The last two have given rise to some of Macaulay's most marked mannerisms. Antithesis is the commoner in the argumentative essays; Metonymy in the more purely historical.

As the essay on Hastings combines argument and narrative in almost equal proportion, the examples of both figures are naturally very numerous. Our eye is constantly being caught by the Antithesis and balance of such expressions as—"to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees"; "well taught but ill fed"; "he looked like a great man and not like a bad man"; "the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous". The gorgeous colouring of the essay is found to arise from a liberal use of Metonymy, especially by the substitution of the concrete for the abstract, and the particular for the general. The descriptions of the Bengalee character

(§ 29), of the city of Benares (§ 111), of Burke's conception of India (§ 166), and of the scene in Westminster Hall (§ 185), are examples of word-painting which Macaulay himself never surpassed. A combination of Antithesis and Metonymy produces a telling effect in one passage :

"All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched ; from the bazaar humming like the bee-hive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas".

The parallel instance, though not strictly a figure of speech, may be included in the same class as a device for saving intellectual labour. It is exceptionally common in this essay, because the scenes and incidents in so remote and strange a country as India could only be made clear and intelligible by a reference to the more familiar scenes and incidents of English and European history.¹ Macaulay's fondness for this device arose from his command over an inexhaustible stock of illustrations gathered from the most various sources. His difficulty seems to have been to stop pouring them out one after another. "He goes on blackening the chimney", says Leslie Stephen, "with a persistency which somehow amuses us because he puts so much heart into his work." The plethora of parallel instances may be excused, however, on the ground that Macaulay, like the orator, used many illustrations, so that any reader who failed to grasp one of them might have a chance of getting hold of another. And anyone who understood them all would, by the reiteration, have the clearest and most vivid impression of what Macaulay intended to convey. His pictorial and concrete style succeeded. For the first time young ladies preferred a book of history to a novel, and for the first time a body of working men recorded a vote of thanks to an historian for writing a history which they could understand.

The faults of Macaulay's style have often been pointed

¹ For examples, see §§ 23, 39, 41, 43, 59, 67, 72, 94, 113, 138, 147, 166.

out. The abruptness and jerkiness of his short sentences, though impressive and even pleasing at first, become painful from the monotony of repetition. Another evil effect is, that all statements, principal and subordinate alike, are put forward with equal and unrelieved emphasis. Though each by itself gains in clearness by the device, there is a loss in the total effect of the paragraph. The attempt to be emphatic leads also to exaggeration—"a stimulant that stimulates till it loses its power". The perpetually-recurring antithesis, and the constant glitter of epigram, become monotonous and even irritating when we discover that what is thereby gained in emphasis is lost in truth. The brilliancy of the style is of the hard, metallic sort, absolutely incompatible with the finer qualities of elasticity and flexibility. The superabundance of illustration, however, is what the unfriendly critic and the mocking paradist have turned to best account in their attempt at ridiculing Macaulay's style.

But while his faults stand out "gross as a mountain, open, palpable", after all deductions have been made there remain sufficient excellences in his style to make it worthy of careful study. Professor Saintsbury's opinion on the point will carry conviction with it: "Fatiguing as his 'snip-snap' sometimes is, yet anyone who speaks of Macaulay's style with contempt seems to me to proclaim himself fatally and finally as a mere 'one-eyed' man in literary appreciation". A similar judgment has been given by Mr. Frederic Harrison, the most recent critic of Macaulay. He says: "The style, with all its defects, has had a solid success and has done great things. By clothing his historical judgments and his critical reflections in these cutting and sonorous periods, he has forced them on the attention of a vast body of readers wherever English is read at all, and on millions who have neither time nor attainments for any regular studies of their own. How many men has Macaulay succeeded in reaching, to whom all other history and criticism is a closed book, or a book in an unknown tongue! If he were a sciolist or a wrong-headed fanatic, this would be a serious evil. But, as he is substantially right in his judgments, brimful of saving common-sense

and generous feeling, and profoundly well read in his own periods and his favourite literature, Macaulay has conferred most memorable services on the readers of English throughout the world. He stands between philosophic historians and the public very much as journals and periodicals stand between the masses and great libraries. Macaulay is a glorified journalist and reviewer, who brings the matured results of scholars to the man in the street in a form that he can remember and enjoy, when he could not make use of a merely learned book. He performs the office of the ballad-maker or story-teller in an age before books were known or were common. And it is largely due to his influence that the best journals and periodicals of our day are written in a style so clear, so direct, so resonant. We need not imitate his mannerism; we may all learn to be outspoken, lucid, and brisk."¹ Thus the unqualified depreciation and unsparing contempt in which a former generation of critics indulged, in their reviews of Macaulay's style, are now giving way to a more impartial judgment and to a more generous acknowledgment of its undoubted merits. One thing is indisputable: Macaulay stands out as a master and a model of the art of exposition. This one excellence may be insufficient by itself to secure for him the highest rank as a writer of prose, but it ought to explain and to justify the popularity of one who has been more widely read than almost any other in the long and brilliant roll of English authors.

¹ *Early Victorian Literature*, pp. 85, 86.

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Ancestry, birth, and education of Hastings (2-8).

First period in India (9-14).

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Voyage to India (18), and work in Madras (19-20).

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1. Internal administration.

Bengal government explained (21-27).

Rivalry of Reza Khan and Nuncomar (28-32).

Arrest of Reza Khan and overthrow of the double government (33-37).

2. Foreign policy.

Corah and Allahabad sold to Oude (38-39).

The Rohillas—their relations with Oude and with Hastings (40-48).

Results of the two years' government (49).

III. Period of struggle with the Council (50-82).

The Regulating Act of 1773 (50).

The Council established by it (51-59).

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The Council and Nuncomar (60-74).

The Council and Hastings' resignation (75-82).

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War with the Mahrattas (83-93).

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VI. General review of Hastings' administration (142-153).

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His power of inspiring confidence (152).

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Reception in England (158-9).

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Supporters of Hastings (162), and his enemies (163) Francis (164) and Burke (165-7).

Parliament and the charges against Hastings (168-183). Pitt's attitude discussed in particular (173-8).

VIII. The impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings (184-203).

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The accused and the accusers (186-8).

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Decline of interest in the trial (193-4); 'the law's delay' (195-9).

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IX. Closing years (204-214).

Pecuniary difficulties (204-5).

Retirement from public life (206-7), and occupations of his retirement (208-9).

Temporary reappearance before the public (210-11).

Death of Hastings (212); reflections on his career (213) and character (214).

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

- 1732. Warren Hastings born (6th December).
- 1744. Dupleix begins the struggle between French and English in India.
- 1746. Capture of Madras by the French.
- 1750. Warren Hastings arrives at Calcutta (8th October).
- 1751. Clive's capture and defence of Arcot.
- 1753. Hastings removed to Cossimbazar (1st October).
- 1755. Hastings made one of the Council of the Factory at Cossimbazar.
- 1756. Cossimbazar seized by Surajah Dowlah.
Calcutta seized. The Black Hole.
Hastings, a prisoner at Moorshedabad, corresponds with the English refugees at Fulta.
Hastings marries Mrs. Campbell.
- 1757. Clive's victory at Plassey.
Hastings appointed the Company's agent at Moorshedabad.
- 1760. Coote's victory at Wandewash.
- 1761. Hastings a member of the Council at Calcutta.
- 1764. Hastings returns to England.
- 1767-69. Hyder Ali's first war against Madras.
- 1769. Hastings returns to India.
- 1771. The Mogul falls into the power of the Mahrattas.
- 1772. Hastings becomes Governor of Bengal.
Arrest and trial of Mahommed Reza Khan.
- 1773. The Regulating Act.
Treaty of Benares (Sept.); cession of Corah and Allahabad to Nabob of Oude.

1774. Hastings becomes Governor-General.
The Rohilla War.
Struggle with Francis begins (October).
1775. Trial and execution of Nuncomar.
Death of Sujah Dowlah. Treaty with Begums of Oude.
1776. Hastings' resignation offered by his London agent.
Death of Monson (September).
1777. Struggle between Clavering and Hastings for the Governor-Generalship.
Hastings marries Lady Imhoff (August).
Death of Clavering (August).
1778. France at war with Britain.
Mahratta War begins.
1779. Capitulation of Bombay troops at Wargaum.
Struggle between Supreme Court and Calcutta Council becomes acute.
1780. Capture of Gwalior.
Hyder Ali's invasion of the Carnatic (July).
Arrangement between Francis and Hastings; duel (August);
return of Francis to England (December).
1781. Hyder Ali defeated at Porto Novo and Pollilore.
Hastings in danger at Benares (16th August).
Committees of the Commons for Indian affairs.
1782. Begums of Oude compelled to surrender their treasures.
Impey recalled.
Hastings' recall voted by the Directors (May); negatived by
Proprietors (October).
Treaty with the Mahrattas.
Death of Hyder Ali (December).
1783. Indecisive naval battles between French and British off
Madras coast.
Peace of Versailles.
Fox's India Bill.
1784. Treaty with Tippoo Sahib.
Pitt's India Bill; Board of Control established.
1785. Hastings returns to England.
1786. The Rohilla charge brought before the Commons by Burke
(June).
The Benares charge brought before the Commons by Fox.

1787. The Oude charge brought before the Commons by Sheridan.
 1788. Trial of Warren Hastings begins.
 1789. Regency Bill.
 French Revolution.
 1795. Hastings acquitted.
 1804. Hastings' interview with Addington.
 1813. Hastings before Parliament as a witness.
 Hastings receives an honorary degree from Oxford University.
 1814. Hastings sworn a Privy Councillor.
 1818. Death of Warren Hastings (22nd August).
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INDIA
in the time of Hastings.

72° 80° 88°

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Longitude East 80° of Greenwich

ESSAY ON WARREN HASTINGS

Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Bengal. Compiled from Original Papers, by the Rev. G. R. GLEIG, M.A. 3 vols. 8vo. London: 1841.

§ 1. We are inclined to think that we shall best meet the wishes of our readers, if, instead of minutely examining this book, we attempt to give, in a way necessarily hasty and imperfect, our own view of the life and character of Mr. Hastings. Our feeling towards him is not exactly that of the House of Commons which impeached him in 1787; neither is it that of the House of Commons which uncovered and stood up to receive him in 1813. He had great qualities, and he rendered great services to the state. But to represent him as a man of stainless virtue is to make him ridiculous; and from regard for his memory, if from no other feeling, his friends would have done well to lend no countenance to such adulation. We believe that, if he were now living, he would have sufficient judgment and sufficient greatness of mind to wish to be shown as he was. He must have known that there were dark spots on his fame. He might also have felt with pride that the splendour of his fame would bear many spots. He would have wished posterity to have a likeness of him, though an unfavourable likeness, rather than a daub at once insipid and unnatural, resembling neither him nor anybody else. "Paint me as I am", said Oliver Crom-

well, while sitting to young Lely. "If you leave out the scars and wrinkles, I will not pay you a shilling." Even in such a trifle, the great Protector showed both his good sense and his magnanimity. He did not wish
5 all that was characteristic in his countenance to be lost, in the vain attempt to give him the regular features and smooth blooming cheeks of the curl-pated minions of James the First. He was content that his face should go forth marked with all the blemishes which had been
10 put on it by time, by war, by sleepless nights, by anxiety, perhaps by remorse; but with valour, policy, authority, and public care written in all its princely lines. If men truly great knew their own interest, it is thus that they would wish their minds to be portrayed.

15 § 2. Warren Hastings sprang from an ancient and illustrious race. It has been affirmed that his pedigree can be traced back to the great Danish sea-king, whose sails were long the terror of both coasts of the British Channel, and who, after many fierce and doubtful
20 struggles, yielded at last to the valour and genius of Alfred. But the undoubted splendour of the line of Hastings needs no illustration from fable. One branch of that line wore, in the fourteenth century, the coronet of Pembroke. From another branch sprang the re-
25 nowned Chamberlain, the faithful adherent of the White Rose, whose fate has furnished so striking a theme both to poets and to historians. His family received from the Tudors the earldom of Huntingdon, which, after long dispossession, was regained in our time by a series
30 of events scarcely paralleled in romance.

§ 3. The lords of the manor of Daylesford, in Worcestershire, claimed to be considered as the heads of this distinguished family. The main stock, indeed, prospered less than some of the younger shoots. But the Dayles-
35 ford family, though not ennobled, was wealthy and highly

considered, till, about two hundred years ago, it was overwhelmed by the great ruin of the civil war. The Hastings of that time was a zealous cavalier. He raised money on his lands, sent his plate to the mint at Oxford, joined the royal army, and, after spending half his property in the cause of King Charles, was glad to ransom himself by making over most of the remaining half to Speaker Lenthal. The old seat at Daylesford still remained in the family; but it could no longer be kept up; and in the following generation it was sold to a merchant of London.

§ 4. Before this transfer took place, the last Hastings of Daylesford had presented his second son to the rectory of the parish in which the ancient residence of the family stood. The living was of little value; and the situation of the poor clergyman, after the sale of the estate, was deplorable. He was constantly engaged in lawsuits about his tithes with the new lord of the manor, and was at length utterly ruined. His eldest son, Howard, a well-conducted young man, obtained a place in the Customs. The second son, Pynaston, an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies, leaving to the care of his unfortunate father a little orphan, destined to strange and memorable vicissitudes of fortune.

§ 5. Warren, the son of Pynaston, was born on the sixth of December, 1732. His mother died a few days later, and he was left dependent on his distressed grandfather. The child was early sent to the village school, where he learned his letters on the same bench with the sons of the peasantry; nor did anything in his garb or fare indicate that his life was to take a widely different course from that of the young rustics with whom he studied and played. But no cloud could overcast the dawn of so much genius and so much ambition. The

very ploughmen observed, and long remembered, how kindly little Warren took to his book. The daily sight of the lands which his ancestors had possessed, and which had passed into the hands of strangers, filled his
5 young brain with wild fancies and projects. He loved to hear stories of the wealth and greatness of his progenitors, of their splendid housekeeping, their loyalty, and their valour. On one bright summer day, the boy, then just seven years old, lay on the bank of the rivulet
10 which flows through the old domain of his house to join the Isis. There, as threescore and ten years later he told the tale, rose in his mind a scheme which, through all the turns of his eventful career, was never abandoned. He would recover the estate which had belonged to his
15 fathers. He would be Hastings of Daylesford. This purpose, formed in infancy and poverty, grew stronger as his intellect expanded and as his fortune rose. He pursued his plan with that calm but indomitable force of will which was the most striking peculiarity of his
20 character. When, under a tropical sun, he ruled fifty millions of Asiatics, his hopes, amidst all the cares of war, finance, and legislation, still pointed to Daylesford. And when his long public life, so singularly chequered with good and evil, with glory and obloquy, had at
25 length closed for ever, it was to Daylesford that he retired to die.

§ 6. When he was eight years old, his uncle Howard determined to take charge of him, and to give him a liberal education. The boy went up to London, and
30 was sent to a school at Newington, where he was well taught but ill fed. He always attributed the smallness of his stature to the hard and scanty fare of this seminary. At ten he was removed to Westminster School, then flourishing under the care of Dr. Nichols. Vinny Bourne,
35 as his pupils affectionately called him, was one of the

masters. Churchill, Colman, Lloyd, Cumberland, Cowper, were among the students. With Cowper, Hastings formed a friendship which neither the lapse of time, nor a wide dissimilarity of opinions and pursuits, could wholly dissolve. It does not appear that they ever met after they 5 had grown to manhood. But forty years later, when the voices of many great orators were crying for vengeance on the oppressor of India, the shy and secluded poet could image to himself Hastings the Governor-General only as the Hastings with whom he had rowed on the 10 Thames and played in the cloister, and refused to believe that so good-tempered a fellow could have done anything very wrong. His own life had been spent in praying, musing, and rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. He had preserved in no common measure the innocence 15 of childhood. His spirit had indeed been severely tried, but not by temptations which impelled him to any gross violation of the rules of social morality. He had never been attacked by combinations of powerful and deadly enemies. He had never been compelled to make a 20 choice between innocence and greatness, between crime and ruin. Firmly as he held in theory the doctrine of human depravity, his habits were such that he was unable to conceive how far from the path of right even kind and noble natures may be hurried by the rage of 25 conflict and the lust of dominion.

§ 7. Hastings had another associate at Westminster of whom we shall have occasion to make frequent mention, Elijah Impey. We know little about their school days. But, we think, we may safely venture to guess that, when- 30 ever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a tart or a ball to act as fag in the worst part of the prank.

§ 8. Warren was distinguished among his comrades as an excellent swimmer, boatman, and scholar. At fourteen 35

he was first in the examination for the foundation. His name in gilded letters on the walls of the dormitory still attests his victory over many older competitors. He stayed two years longer at the school, and was looking forward to a studentship at Christ Church, when an event happened which changed the whole course of his life. Howard Hastings died, bequeathing his nephew to the care of a friend and distant relation, named Chiswick. This gentleman, though he did not absolutely refuse the charge, was desirous to rid himself of it as soon as possible. Dr. Nichols made strong remonstrances against the cruelty of interrupting the studies of a youth who seemed likely to be one of the first scholars of the age. He even offered to bear the expense of sending his favourite pupil to Oxford. But Mr. Chiswick was inflexible. He thought the years which had already been wasted on hexameters and pentameters quite sufficient. He had it in his power to obtain for the lad a writership in the service of the East India Company. Whether the young adventurer, when once shipped off, made a fortune, or died of a liver complaint, he equally ceased to be a burden to anybody. Warren was accordingly removed from Westminster school, and placed for a few months at a commercial academy, to study arithmetic and book-keeping. In January, 1750, a few days after he had completed his seventeenth year, he sailed for Bengal, and arrived at his destination in the October following.

§ 9. He was immediately placed at a desk in the Secretary's office at Calcutta, and laboured there during two years. Fort William was then purely a commercial settlement. In the south of India the encroaching policy of Dupleix had transformed the servants of the English company, against their will, into diplomatists and generals. The war of the succession was raging in the Carnatic;

and the tide had been suddenly turned against the French by the genius of young Robert Clive. But in Bengal the European settlers, at peace with the natives and with each other, were wholly occupied with ledgers and bills of lading.

§ 10. After two years passed in keeping accounts at Calcutta, Hastings was sent up the country to Cossimbazar, a town which lies on the Hoogley, about a mile from Moorshedabad, and which then bore to Moorshedabad a relation, if we may compare small things with great, such as the city of London bears to Westminster. Moorshedabad was the abode of the prince who, by an authority ostensibly derived from the Mogul, but really independent, ruled the three great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. At Moorshedabad were the court, the harem, and the public offices. Cossimbazar was a port and a place of trade, renowned for the quantity and excellence of the silks which were sold in its marts, and constantly receiving and sending forth fleets of richly laden barges. At this important point, the Company had established a small factory subordinate to that of Fort William. Here, during several years, Hastings was employed in making bargains for stuffs with native brokers. While he was thus engaged, Surajah Dowlah succeeded to the government, and declared war against the English. The defenceless settlement of Cossimbazar, lying close to the tyrant's capital, was instantly seized. Hastings was sent a prisoner to Moorshedabad, but, in consequence of the humane intervention of the servants of the Dutch Company, was treated with indulgence. Meanwhile the Nabob marched on Calcutta; the governor and the commandant fled; the town and citadel were taken, and most of the English prisoners perished in the Black Hole.

§ 11. In these events originated the greatness of Warren

Hastings. The fugitive governor and his companions had taken refuge on the dreary islet of Fulda, near the mouth of the Hoogley. They were naturally desirous to obtain full information respecting the proceedings of the Nabob; and no person seemed so likely to furnish it as Hastings, who was a prisoner at large in the immediate neighbourhood of the court. He thus became a diplomatic agent, and soon established a high character for ability and resolution. The treason which at a later period was fatal to Surajah Dowlah was already in progress; and Hastings was admitted to the deliberations of the conspirators. But the time for striking had not arrived. It was necessary to postpone the execution of the design; and Hastings, who was now in extreme peril, fled to Fulda.

§ 12. Soon after his arrival at Fulda, the expedition from Madras, commanded by Clive, appeared in the Hoogley. Warren, young, intrepid, and excited probably by the example of the Commander of the Forces, who, having like himself been a mercantile agent of the Company, had been turned by public calamities into a soldier, determined to serve in the ranks. During the early operations of the war he carried a musket. But the quick eye of Clive soon perceived that the head of the young volunteer would be more useful than his arm. When, after the battle of Plassey, Meer Jaffier was proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Hastings was appointed to reside at the court of the new prince as agent for the Company.

§ 13. He remained at Moorshedabad till the year 1761, when he became a Member of Council, and was consequently forced to reside at Calcutta. This was during the interval between Clive's first and second administration, an interval which has left on the fame of the East India Company a stain, not wholly effaced by many years of just and humane government. Mr. Vansittart,

the Governor, was at the head of a new and anomalous empire. On one side was a band of English functionaries, daring, intelligent, eager to be rich. On the other side was a great native population, helpless, timid, accustomed to crouch under oppression. To keep the stronger 5 race from preying on the weaker, was an undertaking which tasked to the utmost the talents and energy of Clive. Vansittart, with fair intentions, was a feeble and inefficient ruler. The master caste, as was natural, broke loose from all restraint; and then was seen what we 10 believe to be the most frightful of all spectacles, the strength of civilisation without its mercy. To all other despotism there is a check, imperfect indeed, and liable to gross abuse, but still sufficient to preserve society from the last extreme of misery. A time comes when 15 the evils of submission are obviously greater than those of resistance, when fear itself begets a sort of courage, when a convulsive burst of popular rage and despair warns tyrants not to presume too far on the patience of mankind. But against misgovernment such as then 20 afflicted Bengal it was impossible to struggle. The superior intelligence and energy of the dominant class made their power irresistible. A war of Bengalees against Englishmen was like a war of sheep against wolves, of men against dæmons. The only protection which the 25 conquered could find was in the moderation, the clemency, the enlarged policy of the conquerors. That protection, at a later period, they found. But at first English power came among them unaccompanied by English morality. There was an interval between the time at 30 which they became our subjects, and the time at which we began to reflect that we were bound to discharge towards them the duties of rulers. During that interval the business of a servant of the Company was simply to wring out of the natives a hundred or two hundred 35

thousand pounds as speedily as possible, that he might return home before his constitution had suffered from the heat, to marry a peer's daughter, to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall, and to give balls in St. James's Square. Of the conduct of Hastings at this time little is known; but the little that is known, and the circumstance that little is known, must be considered as honourable to him. He could not protect the natives: all that he could do was to abstain from plundering and oppressing them; and this he appears to have done. It is certain that at this time he continued poor; and it is equally certain that by cruelty and dishonesty he might easily have become rich. It is certain that he was never charged with having borne a share in the worst abuses which then prevailed; and it is almost equally certain that, if he had borne a share in those abuses, the able and bitter enemies who afterwards persecuted him would not have failed to discover and to proclaim his guilt. The keen, severe, and even malevolent scrutiny to which his whole public life was subjected, a scrutiny unparalleled, as we believe, in the history of mankind, is in one respect advantageous to his reputation. It brought many lamentable blemishes to light; but it entitles him to be considered pure from every blemish which has not been brought to light.

§ 14. The truth is that the temptations to which so many English functionaries yielded in the time of Mr. Vansittart were not temptations addressed to the ruling passions of Warren Hastings. He was not squeamish in pecuniary transactions; but he was neither sordid nor rapacious. He was far too enlightened a man to look on a great empire merely as a buccaneer would look on a galleon. Had his heart been much worse than it was, his understanding would have preserved him from that extremity of baseness. He was an unscrupulous, perhaps

an unprincipled, statesman; but still he was a statesman, and not a freebooter.

§ 15. In 1764 Hastings returned to England. He had realized only a very moderate fortune; and that moderate fortune was soon reduced to nothing, partly by his praiseworthy liberality, and partly by his mismanagement. Towards his relations he appears to have acted very generously. The greater part of his savings he left in Bengal, hoping probably to obtain the high usury of India. But high usury and bad security generally go together; and Hastings lost both interest and principal.

§ 16. He remained four years in England. Of his life at this time very little is known. But it has been asserted, and is highly probable, that liberal studies and the society of men of letters occupied a great part of his time. It is to be remembered to his honour that, in days when the languages of the East were regarded by other servants of the Company merely as the means of communicating with weavers and money-changers, his enlarged and accomplished mind sought in Asiatic learning for new forms of intellectual enjoyment, and for new views of government and society. Perhaps, like most persons who have paid much attention to departments of knowledge which lie out of the common track, he was inclined to overrate the value of his favourite studies. He conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made a part of the liberal education of an English gentleman; and he drew up a plan with that view. It is said that the University of Oxford, in which Oriental learning had never, since the revival of letters, been wholly neglected, was to be the seat of the institution which he contemplated. An endowment was expected from the munificence of the Company; and professors thoroughly competent to interpret Hafiz and Ferdusi were to be engaged in the East. Hastings called on Johnson, with the hope, as it should

seem, of interesting in this project a man who enjoyed the highest literary reputation, and who was particularly connected with Oxford. The interview appears to have left on Johnson's mind a most favourable impression of the talents and attainments of his visitor. Long after, when Hastings was ruling the immense population of British India, the old philosopher wrote to him, and referred in the most courtly terms, though with great dignity, to their short but agreeable intercourse.

§ 17. Hastings soon began to look again towards India. He had little to attach him to England; and his pecuniary embarrassments were great. He solicited his old masters the Directors for employment. They acceded to his request, with high compliments both to his abilities and to his integrity, and appointed him a Member of Council at Madras. It would be unjust not to mention that, though forced to borrow money for his outfit, he did not withdraw any portion of the sum which he had appropriated to the relief of his distressed relations. In the spring of 1769 he embarked on board of the *Duke of Grafton*, and commenced a voyage distinguished by incidents which might furnish matter for a novel.

§ 18. Among the passengers in the *Duke of Grafton* was a German of the name of Imhoff. He called himself a Baron; but he was in distressed circumstances, and was going out to Madras as a portrait-painter, in the hope of picking up some of the pagodas which were then lightly got and as lightly spent by the English in India. The Baron was accompanied by his wife, a native, we have somewhere read, of Archangel. This young woman who, born under the Arctic circle, was destined to play the part of a Queen under the tropic of Cancer, had an agreeable person, a cultivated mind, and manners in the highest degree engaging. She despised her husband heartily, and,

as the story which we have to tell sufficiently proves, not without reason. She was interested by the conversation and flattered by the attentions of Hastings. The situation was indeed perilous. No place is so propitious to the formation either of close friendships or of deadly 5 enmities as an Indiaman. There are very few people who do not find a voyage which lasts several months insupportably dull. Anything is welcome which may break that long monotony, a sail, a shark, an albatross, a man overboard. Most passengers find some resource in 10 eating twice as many meals as on land. But the great devices for killing the time are quarrelling and flirting. The facilities for both these exciting pursuits are great. The inmates of the ship are thrown together far more than in any country-seat or boarding-house. None can 15 escape from the rest except by imprisoning himself in a cell in which he can hardly turn. All food, all exercise, is taken in company. Ceremony is to a great extent banished. It is every day in the power of a mischievous person to inflict innumerable annoyances. It is every day 20 in the power of an amiable person to confer little services. It not seldom happens that serious distress and danger call forth, in genuine beauty and deformity, heroic virtues and abject vices which, in the ordinary intercourse of good society, might remain during many years unknown 25 even to intimate associates. Under such circumstances met Warren Hastings and the Baroness Imhoff, two persons whose accomplishments would have attracted notice in any court of Europe. The gentleman had no domestic ties. The lady was tied to a husband for 30 whom she had no regard, and who had no regard for his own honour. An attachment sprang up, which was soon strengthened by events such as could hardly have occurred on land. Hastings fell ill. The Baroness nursed him with womanly tenderness, gave him his medicines 35

with her own hand, and even sat up in his cabin while he slept. Long before the *Duke of Grafton* reached Madras, Hastings was in love. But his love was of a most characteristic description. Like his hatred, like his ambition, like all his passions, it was strong, but not impetuous. It was calm, deep, earnest, patient of delay, unconquerable by time. Imhoff was called into council by his wife and his wife's lover. It was arranged that the Baroness should institute a suit for a divorce in the courts of Franconia, that the Baron should afford every facility to the proceeding, and that, during the years that might elapse before the sentence should be pronounced, they should continue to live together. It was also agreed that Hastings should bestow some very substantial marks of gratitude on the complaisant husband, and should, when the marriage was dissolved, make the lady his wife, and adopt the children whom she had already borne to Imhoff.

§ 19. At Madras, Hastings found the trade of the Company in a very disorganized state. His own tastes would have led him rather to political than to commercial pursuits; but he knew that the favour of his employers depended chiefly on their dividends, and that their dividends depended chiefly on the investment. He therefore, with great judgment, determined to apply his vigorous mind for a time to this department of business, which had been much neglected, since the servants of the Company had ceased to be clerks, and had become warriors and negotiators.

§ 20. In a very few months he effected an important reform. The Directors notified to him their high approbation, and were so much pleased with his conduct that they determined to place him at the head of the government of Bengal. Early in 1772 he quitted Fort St. George for his new post. The Imhoffs, who were still man and

wife, accompanied him, and lived at Calcutta on the same plan which they had already followed during more than two years.

§ 21. When Hastings took his seat at the head of the council board, Bengal was still governed according to the system which Clive had devised, a system which was, perhaps, skilfully contrived for the purpose of facilitating and concealing a great revolution, but which, when that revolution was complete and irrevocable, could produce nothing but inconvenience. There were two governments, the real and the ostensible. The supreme power belonged to the Company, and was in truth the most despotic power that can be conceived. The only restraint on the English masters of the country was that which their own justice and humanity imposed on them. There was no constitutional check on their will, and resistance to them was utterly hopeless.

§ 22. But, though thus absolute in reality, the English had not yet assumed the style of sovereignty. They held their territories as vassals of the throne of Delhi; they raised their revenues as collectors appointed by the imperial commission; their public seal was inscribed with the imperial titles; and their mint struck only the imperial coin.

§ 23. There was still a nabob of Bengal, who stood to the English rulers of his country in the same relation in which Augustulus stood to Odoacer, or the last Merovingians to Charles Martel and Pepin. He lived at Moorshedabad, surrounded by princely magnificence. He was approached with outward marks of reverence, and his name was used in public instruments. But in the government of the country he had less real share than the youngest writer or cadet in the Company's service.

§ 24. The English council which represented the Com-

pany at Calcutta was constituted on a very different plan from that which has since been adopted. At present the Governor is, as to all executive measures, absolute. He can declare war, conclude peace, appoint public functionaries or remove them, in opposition to the unanimous sense of those who sit with him in council. They are, indeed, entitled to know all that is done, to discuss all that is done, to advise, to remonstrate, to send protests to England. But it is with the Governor that the supreme power resides, and on him that the whole responsibility rests. This system, which was introduced by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas in spite of the strenuous opposition of Mr. Burke, we conceive to be on the whole the best that was ever devised for the government of a country where no materials can be found for a representative constitution. In the time of Hastings the Governor had only one vote in council, and, in case of an equal division, a casting vote. It therefore happened not unfrequently that he was overruled on the gravest questions; and it was possible that he might be wholly excluded, for years together, from the real direction of public affairs.

§ 25. The English functionaries at Fort William had as yet paid little or no attention to the internal government of Bengal. The only branch of politics about which they much busied themselves was negotiation with the native princes. The police, the administration of justice, the details of the collection of revenue, were almost entirely neglected. We may remark that the phraseology of the Company's servants still bears the traces of this state of things. To this day they always use the word "political" as synonymous with "diplomatic". We could name a gentleman still living, who was described by the highest authority as an invaluable public servant, eminently fit to be at the head of the internal adminis-

tion of a whole presidency, but unfortunately quite ignorant of all political business.

§ 26. The internal government of Bengal the English rulers delegated to a great native minister, who was stationed at Moorshedabad. All military affairs, and, with the exception of what pertains to mere ceremonial, all foreign affairs, were withdrawn from his control; but the other departments of the administration were entirely confided to him. His own stipend amounted to near a hundred thousand pounds sterling a year. The personal allowance of the nabob, amounting to more than three hundred thousand pounds a year, passed through the minister's hands, and was, to a great extent, at his disposal. The collection of the revenue, the administration of justice, the maintenance of order, were left to this high functionary; and for the exercise of his immense power he was responsible to none but the British masters of the country.

§ 27. A situation so important, lucrative, and splendid, was naturally an object of ambition to the ablest and most powerful natives. Clive had found it difficult to decide between conflicting pretensions. Two candidates stood out prominently from the crowd, each of them the representative of a race and of a religion.

§ 28. One of these was Mahommed Reza Khan, a Mussulman of Persian extraction, able, active, religious after the fashion of his people, and highly esteemed by them. In England he might perhaps have been regarded as a corrupt and greedy politician. But, tried by the lower standard of Indian morality, he might be considered as a man of integrity and honour.

§ 29. His competitor was a Hindoo Brahmin whose name has, by a terrible and melancholy event, been inseparably associated with that of Warren Hastings, the Maharajah Nuncomar. This man had played an

important part in all the revolutions which, since the time of Surajah Dowlah, had taken place in Bengal. To the consideration which in that country belongs to high and pure caste, he added the weight which is derived from wealth, talents, and experience. Of his moral character it is difficult to give a notion to those who are acquainted with human nature only as it appears in our island. What the Italian is to the Englishman, what the Hindoo is to the Italian, what the Bengalee is to other Hindoos, that was Nuncomar to other Bengalees. The physical organization of the Bengalee is feeble even to effeminacy. He lives in a constant vapour-bath. His pursuits are sedentary, his limbs delicate, his movements languid. During many ages he has been trampled upon by men of bolder and more hardy breeds. Courage, independence, veracity, are qualities to which his constitution and his situation are equally unfavourable. His mind bears a singular analogy to his body. It is weak even to helplessness for purposes of manly resistance; but its suppleness and its tact move the children of sterner climates to admiration not unmingled with contempt. All those arts which are the natural defence of the weak are more familiar to this subtle race than to the Ionian of the time of Juvenal, or to the Jew of the dark ages. What the horns are to the buffalo, what the paw is to the tiger, what the sting is to the bee, what beauty, according to the old Greek song, is to woman, deceit is to the Bengalee. Large promises, smooth excuses, elaborate tissues of circumstantial falsehood, chicanery, perjury, forgery, are the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the people of the Lower Ganges. All those millions do not furnish one sepoy to the armies of the Company. But as usurers, as money-changers, as sharp legal practitioners, no class of human beings can bear a comparison with them. With all his softness, the

alee is by no means placable in his enmities or
ne to pity. The pertinacity with which he adheres
his purposes yields only to the immediate pressure of
fear. Nor does he lack a certain kind of courage which
is often wanting to his masters. To inevitable evils he 5
is sometimes found to oppose a passive fortitude, such
as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. An European
warrior, who rushes on a battery of cannon with a loud
hurrah, will sometimes shriek under the surgeon's knife,
and fall into an agony of despair at the sentence of death. 10
But the Bengalee, who would see his country overrun,
his house laid in ashes, his children murdered or dis-
honoured, without having the spirit to strike one blow,
has yet been known to endure torture with the firmness
of Mucius, and to mount the scaffold with the steady 15
step and even pulse of Algernon Sidney.

§ 30. In Nuncomar, the national character was strongly
and with exaggeration personified. The Company's
servants had repeatedly detected him in the most
criminal intrigues. On one occasion he brought a false 20
charge against another Hindoo, and tried to substantiate
it by producing forged documents. On another occasion
it was discovered that, while professing the strongest
attachment to the English, he was engaged in several
conspiracies against them, and in particular that he was 25
the medium of a correspondence between the court of
Delhi and the French authorities in the Carnatic. For
these and similar practices he had been long detained
in confinement. But his talents and influence had not
only procured his liberation, but had obtained for him 30
a certain degree of consideration even among the British
rulers of his country.

§ 31. Clive was extremely unwilling to place a Mussul-
man at the head of the administration of Bengal. On the
other hand, he could not bring himself to confer immense 35

power on a man to whom every sort of villainy repeatedly been brought home. Therefore, though the nabob, over whom Nuncomar had by intrigue acquired great influence, begged that the artful Hindoo might be entrusted with the government, Clive, after some hesitation, decided honestly and wisely in favour of Mahommed Reza Khan. When Hastings became Governor, Mahommed Reza Khan had held power seven years. An infant son of Meer Jaffier was now nabob; and the guardianship of the young prince's person had been confided to the minister.

§ 32. Nuncomar, stimulated at once by cupidity and malice, had been constantly attempting to hurt the reputation of his successful rival. This was not difficult. The revenues of Bengal, under the administration established by Clive, did not yield such a surplus as had been anticipated by the Company; for, at that time, the most absurd notions were entertained in England respecting the wealth of India. Palaces of porphyry, hung with the richest brocade, heaps of pearls and diamonds, from which pagodas and gold mohurs were ordered out by the bushel, filled the imagination even when of business. Nobody seemed to be aware of this. I nevertheless was most undoubtedly the truth, that India was a poorer country than countries which in Europe are reckoned poor, than Ireland, for example, or than Portugal. It was confidently believed by Lords of the Treasury and members for the city that Bengal would not only defray its own charges, but would afford an increased dividend to the proprietors of India stock, and large relief to the English finances. These absurd expectations were disappointed; and the Directors, naturally enough, chose to attribute the disappointment rather to the mismanagement of Mahommed Reza Khan than to their own ignorance of the country entrusted to

care. They were confirmed in their error by the agents of Nuncomar; for Nuncomar had agents even in Leadenhall Street. Soon after Hastings reached Calcutta, he received a letter addressed by the Court of Directors, not to the Council generally, but to himself in particular. He was directed to remove Mahommed Reza Khan, to arrest him, together with all his family and all his partisans, and to institute a strict enquiry into the whole administration of the province. It was added that the Governor would do well to avail himself of the assistance of Nuncomar in the investigation. The vices of Nuncomar were acknowledged. But even from his vices, it was said, much advantage might at such a conjuncture be derived; and, though he could not safely be trusted, it might still be proper to encourage him by hopes of reward.

§ 33. The Governor bore no good-will to Nuncomar. Many years before, they had known each other at Moorshedabad; and then a quarrel had arisen between them which all the authority of their superiors could hardly compose. Widely as they differed in most points, they resembled each other in this, that both were men of unforgiving natures. To Mahommed Reza Khan, on the other hand, Hastings had no feelings of hostility. Nevertheless he proceeded to execute the instructions of the Company with an alacrity which he never showed, except when instructions were in perfect conformity with his own views. He had, wisely as we think, determined to get rid of the system of double government in Bengal. The orders of the Directors furnished him with the means of effecting his purpose, and dispensed him from the necessity of discussing the matter with his Council. He took his measures with his usual vigour and dexterity. At midnight, the palace of Mahommed Reza Khan at Moorshedabad was surrounded by a battalion of sepoys.

The minister was roused from his slumbers and in that he was a prisoner. With the Mussulman gravity, bent his head and submitted himself to the will of God. He fell not alone. A chief named Schitab Roy had been entrusted with the government of Bahar. His valour and his attachment to the English had more than once been signally proved. On that memorable day on which the people of Patna saw from their walls the whole army of the Mogul scattered by the little band of Captain Knox, the voice of the British conquerors assigned the palm of gallantry to the brave Asiatic. "I never," said Knox, when he introduced Schitab Roy, covered with blood and dust, to the English functionaries assembled in the factory, "I never saw a native fight so before." Schitab Roy was involved in the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan, was removed from office, and was placed under arrest. The members of the Council received no intimation of these measures till the prisoners were on their road to Calcutta.

§ 34. The enquiry into the conduct of the minister was postponed on different pretences. He was detained in an easy confinement during many months. In the meantime, the great revolution which Hastings had planned was carried into effect. The office of minister was abolished. The internal administration was transferred to the servants of the Company. A system, a very imperfect system, it is true, of civil and criminal justice, under English superintendence, was established. The nabob was no longer to have even an ostensible share in the government; but he was still to receive a considerable annual allowance, and to be surrounded with the state of sovereignty. As he was an infant, it was necessary to provide guardians for his person and property. His person was entrusted to a lady of his father's harem, known by the name of the Munny Begum.

The office of treasurer of the household was bestowed on a son of Nuncomar, named Goordas. Nuncomar's services were wanted; yet he could not safely be trusted with power; and Hastings thought it a masterstroke of policy to reward the able and unprincipled parent by 5 promoting the inoffensive child.

§ 35. The revolution completed, the double government dissolved, the Company installed in the full sovereignty of Bengal, Hastings had no motive to treat the late ministers with rigour. Their trial had been put off on 10 various pleas till the new organization was complete. They were then brought before a committee, over which the Governor presided. Schitab Roy was speedily acquitted with honour. A formal apology was made to him for the restraint to which he had been subjected. 15 All the Eastern marks of respect were bestowed on him. He was clothed in a robe of state, presented with jewels and with a richly harnessed elephant, and sent back to his government at Patna. But his health had suffered from confinement; his high spirit had been cruelly 20 wounded; and soon after his liberation he died of a broken heart.

§ 36. The innocence of Mahommed Reza Khan was not so clearly established. But the Governor was not disposed to deal harshly. After a long hearing, in which 25 Nuncomar appeared as the accuser, and displayed both the art and the inveterate rancour which distinguished him, Hastings pronounced that the charge had not been made out, and ordered the fallen minister to be set at liberty. 30

§ 37. Nuncomar had purposed to destroy the Mussulman administration, and to rise on its ruin. Both his malevolence and his cupidity had been disappointed. Hastings had made him a tool, had used him for the purpose of accomplishing the transfer of the government 35

from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, from native to European hands. The rival, the enemy, so long envied, so implacably persecuted, had been dismissed unhurt. The situation so long and ardently desired had been abolished.

5 It was natural that the Governor should be from that time an object of the most intense hatred to the vindictive Brahmin. As yet, however, it was necessary to suppress such feelings. The time was coming when that long animosity was to end in a desperate and deadly struggle.

10 § 38. In the meantime, Hastings was compelled to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The object of his diplomacy was at this time simply to get money. The finances of his government were in an embarrassed state; and this embarrassment he was determined to relieve by
15 some means, fair or foul. The principle which directed all his dealings with his neighbours is fully expressed by the old motto of one of the great predatory families of Teviotdale, "Thou shalt want ere I want". He seems to have laid it down, as a fundamental proposition which
20 could not be disputed, that, when he had not as many lacs of rupees as the public service required, he was to take them from anybody who had. One thing, indeed, is to be said in excuse for him. The pressure applied to him by his employers at home, was such as only the
25 highest virtue could have withstood, such as left him no choice except to commit great wrongs, or to resign his high post, and with that post all his hopes of fortune and distinction. The Directors, it is true, never enjoined or applauded any crime. Far from it. Whoever
30 examines their letters written at that time will find there many just and humane sentiments, many excellent precepts, in short, an admirable code of political ethics. But every exhortation is modified or nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently, and send more
35 money; practise strict justice and moderation towards

neighbouring powers, and send more money"; this is in truth the sum of almost all the instructions that Hastings ever received from home. Now these instructions, being interpreted, mean simply, "Be the father and the oppressor of the people; be just and unjust, moderate and rapacious". 5 The Directors dealt with India, as the Church, in the good old times, dealt with a heretic. They delivered the victim over to the executioners, with an earnest request that all possible tenderness might be shown. We by no means accuse or suspect those who framed these 10 despatches of hypocrisy. It is probable that, writing fifteen thousand miles from the place where their orders were to be carried into effect, they never perceived the gross inconsistency of which they were guilty. But the inconsistency was at once manifest to their vicegerent at 15 Calcutta, who, with an empty treasury, with an unpaid army, with his own salary often in arrear, with deficient crops, with government tenants daily running away, was called upon to remit home another half-million without fail. Hastings saw that it was absolutely necessary for 20 him to disregard either the moral discourses or the pecuniary requisitions of his employers. Being forced to disobey them in something, he had to consider what kind of disobedience they would most readily pardon; and he correctly judged that the safest course would be 25 to neglect the sermons and to find the rupees.

§ 39. A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by conscientious scruples, speedily discovered several modes of relieving the financial embarrassments of the government. The allowance of the Nabob of Bengal 30 was reduced at a stroke from three hundred and twenty thousand pounds a year to half that sum. The Company had bound itself to pay near three hundred thousand pounds a year to the Great Mogul, as a mark of homage for the provinces which he had entrusted to their care; 35

and they had ceded to him the districts of Corah and Allahabad. On the plea that the Mogul was not really independent, but merely a tool in the hands of others, Hastings determined to retract these concessions. He accordingly declared that the English would pay no more tribute, and sent troops to occupy Allahabad and Corah. The situation of these places was such that there would be little advantage and great expense in retaining them. Hastings, who wanted money and not territory, determined to sell them. A purchaser was not wanting. The rich province of Oude had, in the general dissolution of the Mogul Empire, fallen to the share of the great Mussulman house by which it is still governed. About twenty years ago, this house, by the permission of the British government, assumed the royal title; but, in the time of Warren Hastings, such an assumption would have been considered by the Mahommedans of India as a monstrous impiety. The Prince of Oude, though he held the power, did not venture to use the style of sovereignty. To the appellation of Nabob or Viceroy, he added that of Vizier of the monarchy of Hindostan, just as in the last century the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, though independent of the Emperor, and often in arms against him, were proud to style themselves his Grand Chamberlain and Grand Marshal. Sujah Dowlah, then Nabob Vizier, was on excellent terms with the English. He had a large treasure. Allahabad and Corah were so situated that they might be of use to him and could be of none to the Company. The buyer and seller soon came to an understanding; and the provinces which had been torn from the Mogul were made over to the government of Oude for about half a million sterling.

§ 40. But there was another matter still more important to be settled by the Vizier and the Governor. The fate of a brave people was to be decided. It was

decided in a manner which has left a lasting stain on the fame of Hastings and of England.

§ 41. The people of Central Asia had always been to the inhabitants of India what the warriors of the German forests were to the subjects of the decaying monarchy of Rome. The dark, slender, and timid Hindoo shrank from a conflict with the strong muscle and resolute spirit of the fair race which dwelt beyond the passes. There is reason to believe that, at a period anterior to the dawn of regular history, the people who spoke the rich and flexible Sanscrit came from regions lying far beyond the Hyphasis and the Hystaspes, and imposed their yoke on the children of the soil. It is certain that, during the last ten centuries, a succession of invaders descended from the west on Hindostan; nor was the course of conquest ever turned back towards the setting sun, till that memorable campaign in which the cross of Saint George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.

§ 42. The Emperors of Hindostan themselves came from the other side of the great mountain ridge; and it had always been their practice to recruit their army from the hardy and valiant race from which their own illustrious house sprang. Among the military adventurers who were allured to the Mogul standards from the neighbourhood of Cabul and Candahar, were conspicuous several gallant bands, known by the name of the Rohillas. Their services had been rewarded with large tracts of land, fiefs of the spear, if we may use an expression drawn from an analogous state of things, in that fertile plain through which the Ramgunga flows from the snowy heights of Kumaon to join the Ganges. In the general confusion which followed the death of Aurungzebe, the warlike colony became virtually independent. The Rohillas were distinguished from the other inhabitants of India by a peculiarly fair complexion. They

were more honourably distinguished by courage in war, and by skill in the arts of peace. While anarchy raged from Lahore to Cape Comorin, their little territory enjoyed the blessings of repose under the guardianship of
5 valour. Agriculture and commerce flourished among them; nor were they negligent of rhetoric and poetry. Many persons now living have heard aged men talk with regret of the golden days when the Afghan princes ruled in the vale of Rohilcund.

- 10 § 43. Sujah Dowlah had set his heart on adding this rich district to his own principality. Right, or show of right, he had absolutely none. His claim was in no respect better founded than that of Catherine to Poland, or that of the Bonaparte family to Spain. The Rohillas
15 held their country by exactly the same title by which he held his, and had governed their country far better than his had ever been governed. Nor were they a people whom it was perfectly safe to attack. Their land was indeed an open plain destitute of natural defences; but
20 their veins were full of the high blood of Afghanistan. As soldiers, they had not the steadiness which is seldom found except in company with strict discipline; but their impetuous valour had been proved on many fields of battle. It was said that their chiefs, when united by
25 common peril, could bring eighty thousand men into the field. Sujah Dowlah had himself seen them fight, and wisely shrank from a conflict with them. There was in India one army, and only one, against which even those proud Caucasian tribes could not stand. It had been
30 abundantly proved that neither tenfold odds, nor the martial ardour of the boldest Asiatic nations, could avail aught against English science and resolution. Was it possible to induce the Governor of Bengal to let out to hire the irresistible energies of the imperial people, the
35 skill against which the ablest chiefs of Hindostan were

helpless as infants, the discipline which had so often triumphed over the frantic struggles of fanaticism and despair, the unconquerable British courage which is never so sedate and stubborn as towards the close of a doubtful and murderous day?

§ 44. This was what the Nabob Vizier asked, and what Hastings granted. A bargain was soon struck. Each of the negotiators had what the other wanted. Hastings was in need of funds to carry on the government of Bengal, and to send remittances to London; and Sujah Dowlah had an ample revenue. Sujah Dowlah was bent on subjugating the Rohillas; and Hastings had at his disposal the only force by which the Rohillas could be subjugated. It was agreed that an English army should be lent to the Nabob Vizier, and that, for the loan, he should pay four hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides defraying all the charge of the troops while employed in his service.

§ 45. "I really cannot see", says Mr. Gleig, "upon what grounds, either of political or moral justice, this proposition deserves to be stigmatized as infamous." If we understand the meaning of words, it is infamous to commit a wicked action for hire, and it is wicked to engage in war without provocation. In this particular war, scarcely one aggravating circumstance was wanting. The object of the Rohilla war was this, to deprive a large population, who had never done us the least harm, of a good government, and to place them, against their will, under an execrably bad one. Nay, even this is not all. England now descended far below the level even of those petty German princes who, about the same time, sold us troops to fight the Americans. The hussar-mongers of Hesse and Anspach had at least the assurance that the expeditions on which their soldiers were to be employed would be conducted in conformity with the humane rules

of civilized warfare. Was the Rohilla war likely to be so conducted? Did the Governor stipulate that it should be so conducted? He well knew what Indian warfare was. He well knew that the power which he covenanted
5 to put into Sujah Dowlah's hands would, in all probability, be atrociously abused; and he required no guarantee, no promise that it should not be so abused. He did not even reserve to himself the right of withdrawing his aid in case of abuse, however gross. We are almost ashamed
10 to notice Major Scott's plea, that Hastings was justified in letting out English troops to slaughter the Rohillas, because the Rohillas were not of Indian race, but a colony from a distant country. What were the English themselves? Was it for them to proclaim a crusade for
15 the expulsion of all intruders from the countries watered by the Ganges? Did it lie in their mouths to contend that a foreign settler who establishes an empire in India is a *caput lupinum*? What would they have said if any other power had, on such a ground, attacked Madras
20 or Calcutta without the slightest provocation? Such a defence was wanting to make the infamy of the transaction complete. The atrocity of the crime, and the hypocrisy of the apology, are worthy of each other.

§ 46. One of the three brigades of which the Bengal
25 army consisted was sent under Colonel Champion to join Sujah Dowlah's forces. The Rohillas expostulated, entreated, offered a large ransom, but in vain. They then resolved to defend themselves to the last. A bloody battle was fought. "The enemy", says Colonel Champion,
30 "gave proof of a good share of military knowledge; and it is impossible to describe a more obstinate firmness of resolution than they displayed." The dastardly sovereign of Oude fled from the field. The English were left unsupported; but their fire and their charge were irre-
35 sistible. It was not, however, till the most distinguished

chiefs had fallen, fighting bravely at the head of their troops, that the Rohilla ranks gave way. Then the Nabob Vizier and his rabble made their appearance, and hastened to plunder the camp of the valiant enemies whom they had never dared to look in the face. The 5 soldiers of the Company, trained in an exact discipline, kept unbroken order, while the tents were pillaged by these worthless allies. But many voices were heard to exclaim, "We have had all the fighting, and those rogues are to have all the profit". 10

§ 47. Then the horrors of Indian war were let loose on the fair valleys and cities of Rohilcund. The whole country was in a blaze. More than a hundred thousand people fled from their homes to pestilential jungles, preferring famine, and fever, and the haunts of tigers, to 15 the tyranny of him to whom an English and a Christian government had, for shameful lucre, sold their substance, and their blood, and the honour of their wives and daughters. Colonel Champion remonstrated with the Nabob Vizier, and sent strong representations to Fort 20 William; but the Governor had made no conditions as to the mode in which the war was to be carried on. He had troubled himself about nothing but his forty lacs; and, though he might disapprove of Sujah Dowlah's wanton barbarity, he did not think himself entitled to 25 interfere, except by offering advice. This delicacy excites the admiration of the biographer. "Mr. Hastings", he says, "could not himself dictate to the Nabob, nor permit the commander of the Company's troops to dictate how the war was to be carried on." No, to be sure. Mr. 30 Hastings had only to put down by main force the brave struggles of innocent men fighting for their liberty. Their military resistance crushed, his duties ended; and he had then only to fold his arms and look on, while their villages were burned, their children butchered, and their 35

women violated. Will Mr. Gleig seriously maintain this opinion? Is any rule more plain than this, that whoever voluntarily gives to another irresistible power over human beings is bound to take order that such power shall not
5 be barbarously abused? But we beg pardon of our readers for arguing a point so clear.

§ 48. We hasten to the end of this sad and disgraceful story. The war ceased. The finest population in India was subjected to a greedy, cowardly, cruel tyrant. Commerce and agriculture languished. The rich province
10 which had tempted the cupidity of Sujah Dowlah became the most miserable part even of his miserable dominions. Yet is the injured nation not extinct. At long intervals gleams of its ancient spirit have flashed forth; and even
15 at this day, valour, and self-respect, and a chivalrous feeling rare among Asiatics, and a bitter remembrance of the great crime of England, distinguish that noble Afghan race. To this day they are regarded as the best of all sepoys at the cold steel; and it was very recently re-
20 marked, by one who had enjoyed great opportunities of observation, that the only natives of India to whom the word "gentleman" can with perfect propriety be applied, are to be found among the Rohillas.

§ 49. Whatever we may think of the morality of
25 Hastings, it cannot be denied that the financial results of his policy did honour to his talents. In less than two years after he assumed the government, he had, without imposing any additional burdens on the people subject to his authority, added about four hundred and fifty
30 thousand pounds to the annual income of the Company, besides procuring about a million in ready money. He had also relieved the finances of Bengal from military expenditure amounting to near a quarter of a million a year, and had thrown that charge on the Nabob of Oude.
35 There can be no doubt that this was a result which, if it

had been obtained by honest means, would have entitled him to the warmest gratitude of his country, and which, by whatever means obtained, proved that he possessed great talents for administration.

§ 50. In the meantime, Parliament had been engaged ⁵ in long and grave discussions on Asiatic affairs. The ministry of Lord North, in the session of 1773, introduced a measure which made a considerable change in the constitution of the Indian government. This law, known by the name of the Regulating Act, provided that ¹⁰ the presidency of Bengal should exercise a control over the other possessions of the Company; that the chief of that presidency should be styled Governor-General; that he should be assisted by four Councillors; and that a supreme court of judicature, consisting of a chief justice ¹⁵ and three inferior judges, should be established at Calcutta. This court was made independent of the Governor-General and Council, and was entrusted with a civil and criminal jurisdiction of immense, and at the same time of undefined, extent. ²⁰

§ 51. The Governor-General and Councillors were named in the act, and were to hold their situations for five years. Hastings was to be the first Governor-General. One of the four new Councillors, Mr. Barwell, an experienced servant of the Company, was then in ²⁵ India. The other three, General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Mr. Francis, were sent out from England.

§ 52. The ablest of the new Councillors was, beyond all doubt, Philip Francis. His acknowledged compositions prove that he possessed considerable eloquence and ³⁰ information. Several years passed in the public offices had formed him to habits of business. His enemies have never denied that he had a fearless and manly spirit; and his friends, we are afraid, must acknowledge that his estimate of himself was extravagantly high, that ³⁵

his temper was irritable, that his deportment was often rude and petulant, and that his hatred was of intense bitterness and long duration.

§ 53. It is scarcely possible to mention this eminent
5 man without adverting for a moment to the question
which his name at once suggests to every mind. Was
he the author of the Letters of Junius? Our own firm
belief is that he was. The evidence is, we think, such as
would support a verdict in a civil, nay, in a criminal
10 proceeding. The handwriting of Junius is the very
peculiar handwriting of Francis, slightly disguised. As
to the position, pursuits, and connections of Junius, the
following are the most important facts which can be
considered as clearly proved: first, that he was acquainted
15 with the technical forms of the secretary of state's office;
secondly, that he was intimately acquainted with the
business of the war-office; thirdly, that he, during the
year 1770, attended debates in the House of Lords, and
took notes of speeches, particularly of the speeches of
20 Lord Chatham; fourthly, that he bitterly resented the
appointment of Mr. Chamier to the place of deputy
secretary-at-war; fifthly, that he was bound by some
strong tie to the first Lord Holland. Now, Francis
passed some years in the secretary of state's office. He
25 was subsequently chief clerk of the war-office. He
repeatedly mentioned that he had himself, in 1770,
heard speeches of Lord Chatham; and some of these
speeches were actually printed from his notes. He
resigned his clerkship at the war-office from resentment
30 at the appointment of Mr. Chamier. It was by Lord
Holland that he was first introduced into the public
service. Now, here are five marks, all of which ought to
be found in Junius. They are all five found in Francis.
We do not believe that more than two of them can be
35 found in any other person whatever. If this argument

does not settle the question, there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

§ 54. The internal evidence seems to us to point the same way. The style of Francis bears a strong resemblance to that of Junius; nor are we disposed to admit, ⁵ what is generally taken for granted, that the acknowledged compositions of Francis are very decidedly inferior to the anonymous letters. The argument from inferiority, at all events, is one which may be urged with at least equal force against every claimant that has ever been men-¹⁰ tioned, with the single exception of Burke; and it would be a waste of time to prove that Burke was not Junius. And what conclusion, after all, can be drawn from mere inferiority? Every writer must produce his best work; and the interval between his best work and his second-¹⁵ best work may be very wide indeed. Nobody will say that the best letters of Junius are more decidedly superior to the acknowledged works of Francis than three or four of Corneille's tragedies to the rest, than three or four of Ben Jonson's comedies to the rest, than the Pilgrim's ²⁰ Progress to the other works of Bunyan, than Don Quixote to the other works of Cervantes. Nay, it is certain that Junius, whoever he may have been, was a most unequal writer. To go no further than the letters which bear the signature of Junius; the letter to the king, and ²⁵ the letters to Horne Tooke, have little in common, except the asperity; and asperity was an ingredient seldom wanting either in the writings or in the speeches of Francis.

§ 55. Indeed one of the strongest reasons for believing ³⁰ that Francis was Junius is the moral resemblance between the two men. It is not difficult, from the letters which, under various signatures, are known to have been written by Junius, and from his dealings with Woodfall and others, to form a tolerably correct notion of his ³⁵

character. He was clearly a man not destitute of real patriotism and magnanimity, a man whose vices were not of a sordid kind. But he must also have been a man in the highest degree arrogant and insolent, a man prone to malevolence, and prone to the error of mistaking his malevolence for public virtue. "Doest thou well to be angry?" was the question asked in old time of the Hebrew prophet. And he answered, "I do well". This was evidently the temper of Junius; and to this cause we attribute the savage cruelty which disgraces several of his letters. No man is so merciless as he who, under a strong self-delusion, confounds his antipathies with his duties. It may be added that Junius, though allied with the democratic party by common enmities, was the very opposite of a democratic politician. While attacking individuals with a ferocity which perpetually violated all the laws of literary warfare, he regarded the most defective parts of old institutions with a respect amounting to pedantry, pleaded the cause of Old Sarum with fervour, and contemptuously told the capitalists of Manchester and Leeds that, if they wanted votes, they might buy land and become freeholders of Lancashire and Yorkshire. All this, we believe, might stand, with scarcely any change, for a character of Philip Francis.

§ 56. It is not strange that the great anonymous writer should have been willing at that time to leave the country which had been so powerfully stirred by his eloquence. Everything had gone against him. That party which he clearly preferred to every other, the party of George Grenville, had been scattered by the death of its chief; and Lord Suffolk had led the greater part of it over to the ministerial benches. The ferment produced by the Middlesex election had gone down. Every faction must have been alike an object of aversion to Junius.

His opinions on domestic affairs separated him from the

ministry; his opinions on colonial affairs, from the opposition. Under such circumstances he had thrown down his pen in misanthropical despair. His farewell letter to Woodfall bears date the nineteenth of January, 1773. In that letter he declared that he must be an idiot to write 5 again; that he had meant well by the cause and the public; that both were given up; that there were not ten men who would act steadily together on any question. "But it is all alike," he added, "vile and contemptible. You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall 10 always rejoice to hear of your prosperity." These were the last words of Junius. In a year from that time, Philip Francis was on his voyage to Bengal.

§ 57. With the three new Councillors came out the judges of the Supreme Court. The chief justice was Sir 15 Elijah Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings; and it is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched through all the inns of court, could not have found an equally serviceable tool. But the members of Council were by no means in an obsequious mood. 20 Hastings greatly disliked the new form of government, and had no very high opinion of his coadjutors. They had heard of this, and were disposed to be suspicious and punctilious. When men are in such a frame of mind, any trifle is sufficient to give occasion for dispute. 25 The members of Council expected a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort William. Hastings allowed them only seventeen. They landed in ill-humour. The first civilities were exchanged with cold reserve. On the morrow commenced that long quarrel which, after 30 distracting British India, was renewed in England, and in which all the most eminent statesmen and orators of the age took active part on one or the other side.

§ 58. Hastings was supported by Barwell. They had not always been friends. But the arrival of the new 35

members of Council from England naturally had the effect of uniting the old servants of the Company. Clavering, Monson, and Francis formed the majority. They instantly wrested the government out of the hands of Hastings, condemned, certainly not without justice, his late dealings with the Nabob Vizier, recalled the English agent from Oude and sent thither a creature of their own, ordered the brigade which had conquered the unhappy Rohillas to return to the Company's territories, and instituted a severe enquiry into the conduct of the war. Next, in spite of the Governor-General's remonstrances, they proceeded to exercise, in the most indiscreet manner, their new authority over the subordinate presidencies; threw all the affairs of Bombay into confusion; and interfered, with an incredible union of rashness and feebleness, in the intestine disputes of the Mahratta government. At the same time, they fell on the internal administration of Bengal, and attacked the whole fiscal and judicial system, a system which was undoubtedly defective, but which it was very improbable that gentlemen fresh from England would be competent to amend. The effect of their reforms was that all protection to life and property was withdrawn, and that gangs of robbers plundered and slaughtered with impunity in the very suburbs of Calcutta. Hastings continued to live in the Government-house, and to draw the salary of Governor-General. He continued even to take the lead at the council-board in the transaction of ordinary business; for his opponents could not but feel that he knew much of which they were ignorant, and that he decided, both surely and speedily, many questions which to them would have been hopelessly puzzling. But the higher powers of government and the most valuable patronage had been taken from him.

§ 59. The natives soon found this out. They con-

sidered him as a fallen man; and they acted after their kind. Some of our readers may have seen, in India, a cloud of crows pecking a sick vulture to death, no bad type of what happens in that country, as often as fortune deserts one who has been great and dreaded. In an instant, all the sycophants who had lately been ready to lie for him, to forge for him, to pander for him, to poison for him, hasten to purchase the favour of his victorious enemies by accusing him. An Indian government has only to let it be understood that it wishes a particular man to be ruined; and in twenty-four hours it will be furnished with grave charges, supported by depositions so full and circumstantial that any person unaccustomed to Asiatic mendacity would regard them as decisive. It is well if the signature of the destined victim is not counterfeited at the foot of some illegal compact, and if some treasonable paper is not slipped into a hiding-place in his house. Hastings was now regarded as helpless. The power to make or mar the fortune of every man in Bengal had passed, as it seemed, into the hands of the new Councillors. Immediately charges against the Governor-General began to pour in. They were eagerly welcomed by the majority, who, to do them justice, were men of too much honour knowingly to countenance false accusations, but who were not sufficiently acquainted with the East to be aware that, in that part of the world, a very little encouragement from power will call forth, in a week, more Oateses, and Bedloes, and Dangerfields, than Westminster Hall sees in a century.

§ 60. It would have been strange indeed if, at such a juncture, Nuncomar had remained quiet. That bad man was stimulated at once by malignity, by avarice, and by ambition. Now was the time to be avenged on his old enemy, to wreak a grudge of seventeen years, to establish himself in the favour of the majority of the Council, to

become the greatest native in Bengal. From the time of the arrival of the new Councillors, he had paid the most marked court to them, and had in consequence been excluded, with all indignity, from the Government-house. 5 He now put into the hands of Francis, with great ceremony, a paper containing several charges of the most serious description. By this document Hastings was accused of putting offices up to sale, and of receiving bribes for suffering offenders to escape. In particular, 10 it was alleged that Mahommed Reza Khan had been dismissed with impunity, in consideration of a great sum paid to the Governor-General.

§ 61. Francis read the paper in Council. A violent altercation followed. Hastings complained in bitter 15 terms of the way in which he was treated, spoke with contempt of Nuncomar and of Nuncomar's accusation, and denied the right of the Council to sit in judgment on the Governor. At the next meeting of the Board, another communication from Nuncomar was produced. He re- 20 quested that he might be permitted to attend the Council, and that he might be heard in support of his assertions. Another tempestuous debate took place. The Governor-General maintained that the council-room was not a proper place for such an investigation; that from persons 25 who were heated by daily conflict with him he could not expect the fairness of judges; and that he could not, without betraying the dignity of his post, submit to be confronted with such a man as Nuncomar. The majority, however, resolved to go into the charges. Hastings rose, 30 declared the sitting at an end, and left the room, followed by Barwell. The other members kept their seats, voted themselves a council, put Clavering in the chair, and ordered Nuncomar to be called in. Nuncomar not only adhered to the original charges, but, after the fashion of 35 the East, produced a large supplement. He stated that

Hastings had received a great sum for appointing Rajah Goordas treasurer of the Nabob's household, and for committing the care of his Highness's person to the Munny Begum. He put in a letter purporting to bear the seal of the Munny Begum, for the purpose of establishing the truth of his story. The seal, whether forged, as Hastings affirmed, or genuine, as we are rather inclined to believe, proved nothing. Nuncomar, as everybody knows who knows India, had only to tell the Munny Begum that such a letter would give pleasure to the majority of the Council, in order to procure her attestation. The majority, however, voted that the charge was made out; that Hastings had corruptly received between thirty and forty thousand pounds; and that he ought to be compelled to refund.

§ 62. The general feeling among the English in Bengal was strongly in favour of the Governor-General. In talents for business, in knowledge of the country, in general courtesy of demeanour, he was decidedly superior to his persecutors. The servants of the Company were naturally disposed to side with the most distinguished member of their own body against a clerk from the war-office, who, profoundly ignorant of the native languages and of the native character, took on himself to regulate every department of the administration. Hastings, however, in spite of the general sympathy of his countrymen, was in a most painful situation. There was still an appeal to higher authority in England. If that authority took part with his enemies, nothing was left to him but to throw up his office. He accordingly placed his resignation in the hands of his agent in London, Colonel Maclean. But Maclean was instructed not to produce the resignation, unless it should be fully ascertained that the feeling at the India House was adverse to the Governor-General.

§ 63. The triumph of Nuncomar seemed to be complete. He held a daily levee, to which his countrymen resorted in crowds, and to which, on one occasion, the majority of the Council condescended to repair. His house was an office for the purpose of receiving charges against the Governor-General. It was said that, partly by threats and partly by wheedling, the villainous Brahmin had induced many of the wealthiest men of the province to send in complaints. But he was playing a perilous game. It was not safe to drive to despair a man of such resources and of such determination as Hastings. Nuncomar, with all his acuteness, did not understand the nature of the institutions under which he lived. He saw that he had with him the majority of the body which made treaties, gave places, raised taxes. The separation between political and judicial functions was a thing of which he had no conception. It had probably never occurred to him that there was in Bengal an authority perfectly independent of the Council, an authority which could protect one whom the Council wished to destroy, and send to the gibbet one whom the Council wished to protect. Yet such was the fact. The Supreme Court was, within the sphere of its own duties, altogether independent of the Government. Hastings, with his usual sagacity, had seen how much advantage he might derive from possessing himself of this stronghold; and he had acted accordingly. The Judges, especially the Chief Justice, were hostile to the majority of the Council. The time had now come for putting this formidable machinery into action.

§ 64. On a sudden, Calcutta was astounded by the news that Nuncomar had been taken up on a charge of felony, committed, and thrown into the common jail. The crime imputed to him was that six years before he had forged a bond. The ostensible prosecutor was a native.

But it was then, and still is, the opinion of everybody, idiots and biographers excepted, that Hastings was the real mover in the business.

§ 65. The rage of the majority rose to the highest point. They protested against the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and sent several urgent messages to the Judges, demanding that Nuncomar should be admitted to bail. The Judges returned haughty and resolute answers. All that the Council could do was to heap honours and emoluments on the family of Nuncomar; and this they did. In the meantime the assizes commenced; a true bill was found; and Nuncomar was brought before Sir Elijah Impey and a jury composed of Englishmen. A great quantity of contradictory swearing, and the necessity of having every word of the evidence interpreted, protracted the trial to a most unusual length. At last a verdict of guilty was returned, and the Chief Justice pronounced sentence of death on the prisoner.

§ 66. That Impey ought to have respited Nuncomar we hold to be perfectly clear. Whether the whole proceeding was not illegal, is a question. But it is certain that, whatever may have been, according to technical rules of construction, the effect of the statute under which the trial took place, it was most unjust to hang a Hindoo for forgery. The law which made forgery capital in England was passed without the smallest reference to the state of society of India. It was unknown to the natives of India. It had never been put in execution among them, certainly not for want of delinquents. It was in the highest degree shocking to all their notions. They were not accustomed to the distinction which many circumstances, peculiar to our own state of society, have led us to make between forgery and other kinds of cheating. The counterfeiting of a seal was, in their estimation, a common act of swindling; nor had it ever crossed their

minds that it was to be punished as severely as gang-robbery or assassination. A just judge would, beyond all doubt, have reserved the case for the consideration of the sovereign. But Impey would not hear of mercy or delay.

- 5 § 67. The excitement among all classes was great. Francis and Francis's few English adherents described the Governor-General and the Chief Justice as the worst of murderers. Clavering, it was said, swore that, even at the foot of the gallows, Nuncomar should be rescued.
- 10 The bulk of the European society, though strongly attached to the Governor-General, could not but feel compassion for a man who, with all his crimes, had so long filled so large a space in their sight, who had been great and powerful before the British empire in India
- 15 began to exist, and to whom, in the old times, governors and members of council, then mere commercial factors, had paid court for protection. The feeling of the Hindoos was infinitely stronger. They were, indeed, not a people to strike one blow for their countryman. But his sentence
- 20 filled them with sorrow and dismay. Tried even by their low standard of morality, he was a bad man. But, bad as he was, he was the head of their race and religion, a Brahmin of the Brahmins. He had inherited the purest and highest caste. He had practised with the greatest
- 25 punctuality all those ceremonies to which the superstitious Bengalees ascribe far more importance than to the correct discharge of the social duties. They felt, therefore, as a devout Catholic in the dark ages would have felt, at seeing a prelate of the highest dignity sent to the gallows
- 30 by a secular tribunal. According to their old national laws, a Brahmin could not be put to death for any crime whatever. And the crime for which Nuncomar was about to die was regarded by them in much the same light in which the selling of an unsound horse, for a
- 35 sound price, is regarded by a Yorkshire jockey.

§ 68. The Mussulmans alone appear to have seen with exultation the fate of the powerful Hindoo, who had attempted to rise by means of the ruin of Mahommed Reza Khan. The Mahommedan historian of those times takes delight in aggravating the charge. He assures us 5 that in Nuncomar's house a casket was found containing counterfeits of the seals of all the richest men of the province. We have never fallen in with any other authority for this story, which in itself is by no means improbable. 10

§ 69. The day drew near; and Nuncomar prepared himself to die with that quiet fortitude with which the Bengalee, so effeminately timid in personal conflict, often encounters calamities for which there is no remedy. The sheriff, with the humanity which is seldom wanting in an 15 English gentleman, visited the prisoner on the eve of the execution, and assured him that no indulgence, consistent with the law, should be refused to him. Nuncomar expressed his gratitude with great politeness and unaltered composure. Not a muscle of his face moved. Not a 20 sigh broke from him. He put his finger to his forehead, and calmly said that fate would have its way, and that there was no resisting the pleasure of God. He sent his compliments to Francis, Clavering, and Monson, and charged them to protect Rajah Goordas, who was about 25 to become the head of the Brahmins of Bengal. The sheriff withdrew, greatly agitated by what had passed, and Nuncomar sat composedly down to write notes and examine accounts.

§ 70. The next morning, before the sun was in his 30 power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face; yet to the last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really purposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful 35

procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hoogley, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited; and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay.

§ 71. Of Impey's conduct it is impossible to speak too severely. We have already said that, in our opinion, he acted unjustly in refusing to respite Nuncomar. No rational man can doubt that he took this course in order to gratify the Governor-General. If we had ever had any doubts on that point, they would have been dispelled by a letter which Mr. Gleig has published. Hastings, three or four years later, described Impey as the man "to whose support he was at one time indebted for the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation". These strong words can refer only to the case of Nuncomar; and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings. It is, therefore, our deliberate opinion that Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order to serve a political purpose.

§ 72. But we look on the conduct of Hastings in a somewhat different light. He was struggling for fortune, honour, liberty, all that makes life valuable. He was beset by rancorous and unprincipled enemies. From his colleagues he could expect no justice. He cannot be blamed for wishing to crush his accusers. He was indeed bound to use only legitimate means to that end. But it was not strange that he should have thought any means legitimate which were pronounced legitimate by the sages of the law, by men whose peculiar duty it was to deal justly between adversaries, and whose education might be supposed to have peculiarly qualified them for the discharge of that duty. Nobody demands from a party the unbending equity of a judge. The reason that judges are appointed is, that even a good man cannot be trusted to decide a cause in which he is himself concerned. Not a day passes on which an honest prosecutor does not ask for what none but a dishonest tribunal would grant. It is too much to expect that any man, when his dearest interests are at stake, and his strongest passions excited, will, as against himself, be more just than the sworn dispensers of justice. To take an analogous case from the history of our own island: suppose that Lord Stafford, when in the Tower on suspicion of being concerned in the Popish plot, had been apprised that Titus Oates had done something which might, by a questionable construction, be brought under the head of felony. Should we severely blame Lord Stafford, in the supposed case, for causing a prosecution to be instituted, for furnishing funds, for using all his influence to intercept the mercy of the Crown? We think not. If a judge, indeed, from favour to the Catholic lords, were to strain the law in order to hang Oates, such a judge would richly deserve impeachment. But it does not appear to us that the Catholic lord, by bringing the case

before the judge for decision, would materially overstep the limits of a just self-defence.

§ 73. While, therefore, we have not the least doubt that this memorable execution is to be attributed to Hastings we doubt whether it can with justice be reckoned among his crimes. That his conduct was dictated by a profound policy is evident. He was in a minority in Council. It was possible that he might long be in a minority. He knew the native character well. He knew in what abundance accusations are certain to flow in against the most innocent inhabitant of India who is under the frown of power. There was not in the whole black population of Bengal a place-holder, a place-hunter, a government tenant, who did not think that he might better himself by sending up a deposition against the Governor-General. Under these circumstances, the persecuted statesman resolved to teach the whole crew of accusers and witnesses that, though in a minority at the council-board, he was still to be feared. The lesson which he gave them was indeed a lesson not to be forgotten. The head of the combination which had been formed against him, the richest, the most powerful, the most artful of the Hindoos, distinguished by the favour of those who then held the government, fenced round by the superstitious reverence of millions, was hanged in broad day before many thousands of people. Everything that could make the warning impressive, dignity in the sufferer, solemnity in the proceeding, was found in this case. The helpless rage and vain struggles of the Council made the triumph more signal. From that moment the conviction of every native was that it was safer to take the part of Hastings in a minority than that of Francis in a majority, and that he who was so venturesome as to join in running down the Governor-General might chance, in the phrase of the Eastern poet, to find

a tiger, while beating the jungle for a deer. The voices of a thousand informers were silenced in an instant. From that time, whatever difficulties Hastings might have to encounter, he was never molested by accusations from natives of India.

§ 74. It is a remarkable circumstance that one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson bears date a very few hours after the death of Nuncomar. While the whole settlement was in commotion, while a mighty and ancient priesthood were weeping over the remains of their chief, the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down, with characteristic self-possession, to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India.

§ 75. In the meantime, intelligence of the Rohilla war, and of the first disputes between Hastings and his colleagues, had reached London. The Directors took part with the majority, and sent out a letter filled with severe reflections on the conduct of Hastings. They condemned, in strong but just terms, the iniquity of undertaking offensive wars merely for the sake of pecuniary advantage. But they utterly forgot that, if Hastings had by illicit means obtained pecuniary advantages, he had done so, not for his own benefit, but in order to meet their demands. To enjoin honesty, and to insist on having what could not be honestly got, was then the constant practice of the Company. As Lady Macbeth says of her husband, they "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win".

§ 76. The Regulating Act, by which Hastings had been appointed Governor-General for five years, empowered the Crown to remove him on an address from the Company. Lord North was desirous to procure such an address. The three members of Council who

had been sent out from England were men of his own choice. General Clavering, in particular, was supported by a large parliamentary connection, such as no cabinet could be inclined to disoblige. The wish of the minister
5 was to displace Hastings, and to put Clavering at the head of the government. In the Court of Directors parties were very nearly balanced. Eleven voted against Hastings; ten for him. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The great sale-room presented a singular
10 appearance. Letters had been sent by the Secretary of the Treasury, exhorting all the supporters of government who held India stock to be in attendance. Lord Sandwich marshalled the friends of the administration with his usual dexterity and alertness. Fifty peers and
15 privy councillors, seldom seen so far eastward, were counted in the crowd. The debate lasted till midnight. The opponents of Hastings had a small superiority on the division; but a ballot was demanded; and the result was that the Governor-General triumphed by a majority
20 of above a hundred votes over the combined efforts of the Directors and the Cabinet. The ministers were greatly exasperated by this defeat. Even Lord North lost his temper, no ordinary occurrence with him, and threatened to convoke parliament before Christmas, and
25 to bring in a bill for depriving the Company of all political power, and for restricting it to its old business of trading in silks and teas.

§ 77. Colonel Maclean, who through all this conflict had zealously supported the cause of Hastings, now
30 thought that his employer was in imminent danger of being turned out, branded with parliamentary censure, perhaps prosecuted. The opinion of the crown lawyers had already been taken respecting some parts of the Governor-General's conduct. It seemed to be high time
35 to think of securing an honourable retreat. Under

these circumstances, Macleane thought himself justified in producing the resignation with which he had been entrusted. The instrument was not in very accurate form; but the Directors were too eager to be scrupulous. They accepted the resignation, fixed on Mr. Wheler, 5 one of their own body, to succeed Hastings, and sent out orders that General Clavering, as senior member of Council, should exercise the functions of Governor-General till Mr. Wheler should arrive.

§ 78. But, while these things were passing in England, 10 a great change had taken place in Bengal. Monson was no more. Only four members of the government were left. Clavering and Francis were on one side, Barwell and the Governor-General on the other; and the Governor-General had the casting vote. Hastings, who 15 had been during two years destitute of all power and patronage, became at once absolute. He instantly proceeded to retaliate on his adversaries. Their measures were reversed: their creatures were displaced. A new valuation of the lands of Bengal, for the purposes of 20 taxation, was ordered: and it was provided that the whole enquiry should be conducted by the Governor-General, and that all the letters relating to it should run in his name. He began, at the same time, to revolve vast plans of conquest and dominion, plans which he lived 25 to see realized, though not by himself. His project was to form subsidiary alliances with the native princes, particularly with those of Oude and Berar, and thus to make Britain the paramount power in India. While he was meditating these great designs, arrived the intelli- 30 gence that he had ceased to be Governor-General, that his resignation had been accepted, that Wheler was coming out immediately, and that, till Wheler arrived, the chair was to be filled by Clavering.

§ 79. Had Hastings still been in a minority, he would 35

probably have retired without a struggle; but he was now the real master of British India, and he was not disposed to quit his high place. He asserted that he had never given any instructions which could warrant the steps taken at home. What his instructions had been, he owned he had forgotten. If he had kept a copy of them he had mislaid it. But he was certain that he had repeatedly declared to the Directors that he would not resign. He could not see how the court, possessed of that declaration from himself, could receive his resignation from the doubtful hands of an agent. If the resignation were invalid, all the proceedings which were founded on that resignation were null, and Hastings was still Governor-General.

§ 80. He afterwards affirmed that, though his agents had not acted in conformity with his instructions, he would nevertheless have held himself bound by their acts, if Clavering had not attempted to seize the supreme power by violence. Whether this assertion were or were not true, it cannot be doubted that the imprudence of Clavering gave Hastings an advantage. The General sent for the keys of the fort and of the treasury, took possession of the records, and held a council at which Francis attended. Hastings took the chair in another apartment, and Barwell sat with him. Each of the two parties had a plausible show of right. There was no authority entitled to their obedience within fifteen thousand miles. It seemed that there remained no way of settling the dispute except an appeal to arms; and from such an appeal Hastings, confident of his influence over his countrymen in India, was not inclined to shrink. He directed the officers of the garrison at Fort William and of all the neighbouring stations to obey no orders but his. At the same time, with admirable judgment, he offered to submit the case to the Supreme Court, and

to abide by its decision. By making this proposition he risked nothing; yet it was a proposition which his opponents could hardly reject. Nobody could be treated as a criminal for obeying what the judges should solemnly pronounce to be the lawful government. The boldest 5 man would shrink from taking arms in defence of what the judges should pronounce to be usurpation. Clavering and Francis, after some delay, unwillingly consented to abide by the award of the court. The court pronounced that the resignation was invalid, and that therefore 10 Hastings was still Governor-General under the Regulating Act; and the defeated members of the Council, finding that the sense of the whole settlement was against them, acquiesced in the decision.

§ 81. About this time arrived the news that, after a 15 suit which had lasted several years, the Franconian courts had decreed a divorce between Imhoff and his wife. The Baron left Calcutta, carrying with him the means of buying an estate in Saxony. The lady became Mrs. Hastings. The event was celebrated by great fes- 20 tivities; and all the most conspicuous persons at Calcutta, without distinction of parties, were invited to the Government-house. Clavering, as the Mahommedan chronicler tells the story, was sick in mind and body, and excused himself from joining the splendid assembly. But Hast- 25 ings, whom, as it should seem, success in ambition and in love had put into high good-humour, would take no denial. He went himself to the General's house, and at length brought his vanquished rival in triumph to the gay circle which surrounded the bride. The exertion 30 was too much for a frame broken by mortification as well as by disease. Clavering died a few days later.

§ 82. Wheler, who came out expecting to be Governor-General, and was forced to content himself with a seat at the council-board, generally voted with Francis. But 35

the Governor-General, with Barwell's help and his own casting vote, was still the master. Some change took place, at this time in the feeling both of the Court of Directors and of the Ministers of the Crown. All designs
5 against Hastings were dropped; and, when his original term of five years expired, he was quietly reappointed. The truth is, that the fearful dangers to which the public interests in every quarter were now exposed, made both Lord North and the Company unwilling to part with
10 a Governor whose talents, experience, and resolution, enmity itself was compelled to acknowledge.

§ 83. The crisis was indeed formidable. That great and victorious empire, on the throne of which George the Third had taken his seat eighteen years before, with
15 brighter hopes than had attended the accession of any of the long line of English sovereigns, had, by the most senseless misgovernment, been brought to the verge of ruin. In America millions of Englishmen were at war with the country from which their blood, their language,
20 their religion, and their institutions were derived, and to which, but a short time before, they had been as strongly attached as the inhabitants of Norfolk and Leicestershire. The great powers of Europe, humbled to the dust by the vigour and genius which had guided the councils of
25 George the Second, now rejoiced in the prospect of a signal revenge. The time was approaching when our island, while struggling to keep down the United States of America, and pressed with a still nearer danger by the too just discontents of Ireland, was to be assailed by
30 France, Spain, and Holland, and to be threatened by the armed neutrality of the Baltic; when even our maritime supremacy was to be in jeopardy; when hostile fleets were to command the Straits of Calpe and the Mexican Sea; when the British flag was to be scarcely able to
35 protect the British Channel. Great as were the faults of

Hastings, it was happy for our country that at that conjuncture, the most terrible through which she has ever passed, he was the ruler of her Indian dominions.

§ 84. An attack by sea on Bengal was little to be apprehended. The danger was that the European enemies of England might form an alliance with some native power, might furnish that power with troops, arms, and ammunition, and might thus assail our possessions on the side of the land. It was chiefly from the Mahrattas that Hastings anticipated danger. The original seat of that singular people was the wild range of hills which runs along the western coast of India. In the reign of Aurungzebe the inhabitants of those regions, led by the great Sevajee, began to descend on the possessions of their wealthier and less warlike neighbours. The energy, ferocity, and cunning of the Mahrattas soon made them the most conspicuous among the new powers which were generated by the corruption of the decaying monarchy. At first they were only robbers. They soon rose to the dignity of conquerors. Half the provinces of the empire were turned into Mahratta principalities. Freebooters, sprung from low castes and accustomed to menial employments, became mighty Rajahs. The Bonslas, at the head of a band of plunderers, occupied the vast region of Berar. The Guicowar, which is, being interpreted, the Herdsman, founded that dynasty which still reigns in Guzerat. The houses of Scindia and Holkar waxed great in Malwa. One adventurous captain made his nest on the impregnable rock of Gooti. Another became the lord of the thousand villages which are scattered among the green rice-fields of Tanjore.

§ 85. That was the time, throughout India, of double government. The form and the power were everywhere separated. The Mussulman nabobs who had become sovereign princes, the Vizier in Oude, and the Nizam at

Hyderabad, still called themselves the viceroys of the house of Tamerlane. In the same manner the Mahratta states, though really independent of each other, pretended to be members of one empire. They all acknowledged, 5 by words and ceremonies, the supremacy of the heir of Sevajee, a *roi fainéant* who chewed bang and toyed with dancing-girls in a state prison at Sattara, and of his Peshwa or mayor of the palace, a great hereditary magistrate, who kept a court with kingly state at Poonah, and 10 whose authority was obeyed in the spacious provinces of Aurungabad and Bejapoor.

§ 86. Some months before war was declared in Europe the government of Bengal was alarmed by the news that a French adventurer, who passed for a man of quality, 15 had arrived at Poonah. It was said that he had been received there with great distinction, that he had delivered to the Peshwa letters and presents from Lewis the Sixteenth, and that a treaty, hostile to England, had been concluded between France and the Mahrattas.

20 § 87. Hastings immediately resolved to strike the first blow. The title of the Peshwa was not undisputed. A portion of the Mahratta nation was favourable to a pretender. The Governor-General determined to espouse this pretender's interest, to move an army across the 25 peninsula of India, and to form a close alliance with the chief of the house of Bonsla, who ruled Berar, and who, in power and dignity, was inferior to none of the Mahratta princes.

§ 88. The army had marched, and the negotiations 30 with Berar were in progress, when a letter from the English consul at Cairo brought the news that war had been proclaimed both in London and Paris. All the measures which the crisis required were adopted by Hastings without a moment's delay. The French factories in Bengal were seized. Orders were sent to

Madras that Pondicherry should instantly be occupied. Near Calcutta, works were thrown up which were thought to render the approach of a hostile force impossible. A maritime establishment was formed for the defence of the river. Nine new battalions of sepoys were raised, 5 and a corps of native artillery was formed out of the hardy Lascars of the Bay of Bengal. Having made these arrangements, the Governor-General with calm confidence pronounced his presidency secure from all attack, unless the Mahrattas should march against it in conjunction 10 with the French.

§ 89. The expedition which Hastings had sent westward was not so speedily or completely successful as most of his undertakings. The commanding officer procrastinated. The authorities at Bombay blundered. 15 But the Governor-General persevered. A new commander repaired the errors of his predecessor. Several brilliant actions spread the military renown of the English through regions where no European flag had ever been seen. It is probable that, if a new and more formidable 20 danger had not compelled Hastings to change his whole policy, his plans respecting the Mahratta empire would have been carried into complete effect.

§ 90. The authorities in England had wisely sent out to Bengal, as commander of the forces and member of 25 the Council, one of the most distinguished soldiers of that time. Sir Eyre Coote had, many years before, been conspicuous among the founders of the British empire in the East. At the council of war which preceded the battle of Plassey, he earnestly recommended, in opposi- 30 tion to the majority, that daring course which, after some hesitation, was adopted, and which was crowned with such splendid success. He subsequently commanded in the south of India against the brave and unfortunate Lally, gained the decisive battle of Wandewash over the 35

French and their native allies, took Pondicherry, and made the English power supreme in the Carnatic. Since those great exploits near twenty years had elapsed Coote had no longer the bodily activity which he had
5 shown in earlier days; nor was the vigour of his mind altogether unimpaired. He was capricious and fretful, and required much coaxing to keep him in good-humour. It must, we fear, be added that the love of money had grown upon him, and that he thought more about his
10 allowances, and less about his duties, than might have been expected from so eminent a member of so noble a profession. Still, he was perhaps the ablest officer that was then to be found in the British army. Among the native soldiers his name was great and his influence
15 unrivalled. Nor is he yet forgotten by them. Now and then a white-bearded old sepoy may still be found, who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore. It is but a short time since one of those aged men came to present a memorial to an English officer, who holds one of the
20 highest employments in India. A print of Coote hung in the room. The veteran recognized at once that face and figure which he had not seen for more than half a century, and, forgetting his salam to the living, halted, drew himself up, lifted his hand, and with solemn reverence
25 once paid his military obeisance to the dead.

§ 91. Coote, though he did not, like Barwell, vote constantly with the Governor-General, was by no means inclined to join in systematic opposition, and on most questions concurred with Hastings, who did his best, by
30 assiduous courtship, and by readily granting the most exorbitant allowances, to gratify the strongest passions of the old soldier.

§ 92. It seemed likely at this time that a general reconciliation would put an end to the quarrels which
35 had, during some years, weakened and disgraced the

government of Bengal. The dangers of the empire might well induce men of patriotic feeling—and of patriotic feeling neither Hastings nor Francis was destitute,—to forget private enmities, and to co-operate heartily for the general good. Coote had never been 5 concerned in faction. Wheler was thoroughly tired of it. Barwell had made an ample fortune, and, though he had promised that he would not leave Calcutta while his help was needed in Council, was most desirous to return to England, and exerted himself to promote an arrangement 10 which would set him at liberty.

§ 93. A compact was made, by which Francis agreed to desist from opposition, and Hastings engaged that the friends of Francis should be admitted to a fair share of the honours and emoluments of the service. During a 15 few months after this treaty there was apparent harmony at the council-board.

§ 94. Harmony, indeed, was never more necessary; for at this moment internal calamities, more formidable than war itself, menaced Bengal. The authors of the 20 Regulating Act of 1773 had established two independent powers, the one judicial, the other political; and, with a carelessness scandalously common in English legislation, had omitted to define the limits of either. The judges took advantage of the indistinctness, and attempted to 25 draw to themselves supreme authority, not only within Calcutta, but through the whole of the great territory subject to the Presidency of Fort William. There are few Englishmen who will not admit that the English law, in spite of modern improvements, is neither so cheap nor 30 , so speedy as might be wished. Still, it is a system which has grown up among us. In some points, it has been fashioned to suit our feelings; in others, it has gradually fashioned our feelings to suit itself. Even to its worst evils we are accustomed; and therefore, though we may 35

complain of them, they do not strike us with the horror and dismay which would be produced by a new grievance of smaller severity. In India the case is widely different. English law, transplanted to that country, has all the
5 vices from which we suffer here; it has them all in a far higher degree; and it has other vices, compared with which the worst vices from which we suffer are trifles. Dilatory here, it is far more dilatory in a land where the help of an interpreter is needed by every judge and by
10 every advocate. Costly here, it is far more costly in a land into which the legal practitioners must be imported from an immense distance. All English labour in India, from the labour of the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, down to that of a groom or a
15 watchmaker, must be paid for at a higher rate than at home. No man will be banished, and banished to the torrid zone, for nothing. The rule holds good with respect to the legal profession. No English barrister will work, fifteen thousand miles from all his friends,
20 with the thermometer at ninety-six in the shade, for the emoluments which will content him in chambers that overlook the Thames. Accordingly, the fees at Calcutta are about three times as great as the fees of Westminster Hall; and this, though the people of India are, beyond
25 all comparison, poorer than the people of England. Yet the delay and the expense, grievous as they are, form the smallest part of the evil which English law, imported without modifications into India, could not fail to produce. The strongest feelings of our nature, honour,
30 religion, female modesty, rose up against the innovation. Arrest on mesne process was the first step in most civil proceedings; and to a native of rank arrest was not merely a restraint, but a foul personal indignity. Oaths were required in every stage of every suit; and the feel-
35 ing of a Quaker about an oath is hardly stronger than

that of a respectable native. That the apartments of a woman of quality should be entered by strange men, or that her face should be seen by them, are, in the East, intolerable outrages, outrages which are more dreaded than death, and which can be expiated only by the 5 shedding of blood. To these outrages the most distinguished families of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa were now exposed. Imagine what the state of our own country would be, if a jurisprudence were on a sudden introduced among us, which should be to us what our 10 jurisprudence was to our Asiatic subjects. Imagine what the state of our country would be, if it were enacted that any man, by merely swearing that a debt was due to him, should acquire a right to insult the persons of men of the most honourable and sacred callings and of women of 15 the most shrinking delicacy, to horsewhip a general officer, to put a bishop in the stocks, to treat ladies in the way which called forth the blow of Wat Tyler. Something like this was the effect of the attempt which the Supreme Court made to extend its jurisdiction over the 20 whole of the Company's territory.

§ 95. A reign of terror began, of terror heightened by mystery; for even that which was endured was less horrible than that which was anticipated. No man knew what was next to be expected from this strange 25 tribunal. It came from beyond the black water, as the people of India, with mysterious horror, call the sea. It consisted of judges not one of whom was familiar with the usages of the millions over whom they claimed boundless authority. Its records were kept in unknown 30 characters; its sentences were pronounced in unknown sounds. It had already collected round itself an army of the worst part of the native population, informers, and false witnesses, and common barrators, and agents of chicane, and above all, a banditti of bailiffs' followers, 35

compared with whom the retainers of the worst English spunging-houses, in the worst times, might be considered as upright and tender-hearted. Many natives, highly considered among their countrymen, were seized, hurried
5 up to Calcutta, flung into the common jail, not for any crime even imputed, not for any debt that had been proved, but merely as a precaution till their cause should come to trial. There were instances in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause
10 by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey. The harems of noble Mahommedans, sanctuaries respected in the East by governments which respected nothing else, were burst open by gangs of bailiffs. The Mussulmans, braver and
15 less accustomed to submission than the Hindoos, sometimes stood on their defence; and there were instances in which they shed their blood in the doorway, while defending, sword in hand, the sacred apartments of their women. Nay, it seemed as if even the faint-hearted
20 Bengalee, who had crouched at the feet of Surajah Dowlah, who had been mute during the administration of Vansittart, would at length find courage in despair. No Mahratta invasion had ever spread through the province such dismay as this inroad of English lawyers.
25 All the injustice of former oppressors, Asiatic and European, appeared as a blessing when compared with the justice of the Supreme Court.

§ 96. Every class of the population, English and native, with the exception of the ravenous pettifoggers who
30 fattened on the misery and terror of an immense community, cried out loudly against this fearful oppression. But the judges were immovable. If a bailiff was resisted, they ordered the soldiers to be called out. If a servant of the Company, in conformity with the orders of the
35 government, withstood the miserable catchpoles who,

with Impey's writs in their hands, exceeded the insolence and rapacity of gang-robbers, he was flung into prison for a contempt. The lapse of sixty years, the virtue and wisdom of many eminent magistrates who have during that time administered justice in the Supreme Court, have not effaced from the minds of the people of Bengal the recollection of those evil days.

§ 97. The members of the government were, on this subject, united as one man. Hastings had courted the judges; he had found them useful instruments; but he was not disposed to make them his own masters, or the masters of India. His mind was large; his knowledge of the native character most accurate. He saw that the system pursued by the Supreme Court was degrading to the government and ruinous to the people; and he resolved to oppose it manfully. The consequence was, that the friendship, if that be the proper word for such a connection, which had existed between him and Impey, was for a time completely dissolved. The government placed itself firmly between the tyrannical tribunal and the people. The Chief Justice proceeded to the wildest excesses. The Governor-General and all the members of Council were served with writs, calling on them to appear before the King's justices, and to answer for their public acts. This was too much. Hastings, with scorn, refused to obey the call, set at liberty the persons wrongfully detained by the Court, and took measures for resisting the outrageous proceedings of the sheriffs officers, if necessary, by the sword. But he had in view another device which might prevent the necessity of an appeal to arms. He was seldom at a loss for an expedient; and he knew Impey well. The expedient, in this case, was a very simple one, neither more nor less than a bribe. Impey was, by act of parliament, a judge, independent of the government of Bengal, and entitled

to a salary of eight thousand a-year. Hastings proposed to make him also a judge in the Company's service, removable at the pleasure of the government of Bengal; and to give him, in that capacity, about eight thousand
5 a-year more. It was understood that, in consideration of this new salary, Impey would desist from urging the high pretensions of his court. If he did urge these pretensions, the government could, at a moment's notice, eject him from the new place which had been created
10 for him. The bargain was struck; Bengal was saved; an appeal to force was averted; and the Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous.

§ 98. Of Impey's conduct it is unnecessary to speak. It was of a piece with almost every part of his conduct
15 that comes under the notice of history. No other such judge has dishonoured the English ermine, since Jefferies drank himself to death in the Tower. But we cannot agree with those who have blamed Hastings for this transaction. The case stood thus. The negligent manner
20 in which the Regulating Act had been framed put it in the power of the Chief Justice to throw a great country into the most dreadful confusion. He was determined to use his power to the utmost, unless he was paid to be still; and Hastings consented to pay him. The necessity
25 was to be deplored. It is also to be deplored that pirates should be able to exact ransom, by threatening to make their captives walk the plank. But to ransom a captive from pirates has always been held a humane and Christian act; and it would be absurd to charge the payer of the
30 ransom with corrupting the virtue of the corsair. This, we seriously think, is a not unfair illustration of the relative position of Impey, Hastings, and the people of India. Whether it was right in Impey to demand or to accept a price for powers which, if they really belonged to him,
35 he could not abdicate, which, if they did not belong to

him, he ought never to have usurped, and which in neither case he could honestly sell, is one question. It is quite another question, whether Hastings was not right to give any sum, however large, to any man, however worthless, rather than either surrender millions of human beings to pillage, or rescue them by civil war.

§ 99. Francis strongly opposed this arrangement. It may, indeed, be suspected that personal aversion to Impey was as strong a motive with Francis as regard for the welfare of the province. To a mind burning with resentment, it might seem better to leave Bengal to the oppressors than to redeem it by enriching them. It is not improbable, on the other hand, that Hastings may have been the more willing to resort to an expedient agreeable to the Chief Justice, because that high functionary had already been so serviceable, and might, when existing dissensions were composed, be serviceable again.

§ 100. But it was not on this point alone that Francis was now opposed to Hastings. The peace between them proved to be only a short and hollow truce, during which their mutual aversion was constantly becoming stronger. At length an explosion took place. Hastings publicly charged Francis with having deceived him, and with having induced Barwell to quit the service by insincere promises. Then came a dispute, such as frequently arises even between honourable men, when they may make important agreements by mere verbal communication. An impartial historian will probably be of opinion that they had misunderstood each other; but their minds were so much embittered that they imputed to each other nothing less than deliberate villainy. "I do not," said Hastings, in a minute recorded on the Consultations of the Government, "I do not trust to Mr. Francis's promises of candour, convinced that he

is incapable of it. I judge of his public conduct by his private, which I have found to be void of truth and honour." After the Council had risen, Francis put a challenge into the Governor-General's hand. It was instantly accepted. They met, and fired. Francis was shot through the body. He was carried to a neighbouring house, where it appeared that the wound, though severe, was not mortal. Hastings enquired repeatedly after his enemy's health, and proposed to call on him; but Francis coldly declined the visit. He had a proper sense, he said, of the Governor-General's politeness, but could not consent to any private interview. They could meet only at the council-board.

§ 101. In a very short time it was made signally manifest to how great a danger the Governor-General had, on this occasion, exposed his country. A crisis arrived with which he, and he alone, was competent to deal. It is not too much to say that, if he had been taken from the head of affairs, the years 1780 and 1781 would have been as fatal to our power in Asia as to our power in America.

§ 102. The Mahrattas had been the chief objects of apprehension to Hastings. The measures which he had adopted for the purpose of breaking their power, had at first been frustrated by the errors of those whom he was compelled to employ; but his perseverance and ability seemed likely to be crowned with success, when a far more formidable danger showed itself in a distant quarter.

§ 103. About thirty years before this time, a Mahomedan soldier had begun to distinguish himself in the wars of Southern India. His education had been neglected; his extraction was humble. His father had been a petty officer of revenue; his grandfather a wandering dervise. But though thus meanly descended, though ignorant even of the alphabet, the adventurer had no

sooner been placed at the head of a body of troops than he approved himself a man born for conquest and command. Among the crowd of chiefs who were struggling for a share of India, none could compare with him in the qualities of the captain and the statesman. He became a general; he became a sovereign. Out of the fragments of old principalities, which had gone to pieces in the general wreck, he formed for himself a great, compact, and vigorous empire. That empire he ruled with the ability, severity, and vigilance of Lewis the Eleventh. Licentious in his pleasures, implacable in his revenge, he had yet enlargement of mind enough to perceive how much the prosperity of subjects adds to the strength of governments. He was an oppressor; but he had at least the merit of protecting his people against all oppression except his own. He was now in extreme old age; but his intellect was as clear, and his spirit as high, as in the prime of manhood. Such was the great Hyder Ali, the founder of the Mahomedan kingdom of Mysore, and the most formidable enemy with whom the English conquerors of India have ever had to contend.

§ 104. Had Hastings been governor of Madras, Hyder would have been either made a friend, or vigorously encountered as an enemy. Unhappily the English authorities in the south provoked their powerful neighbour's hostility, without being prepared to repel it. On a sudden, an army of ninety thousand men, far superior in discipline and efficiency to any other native force that could be found in India, came pouring through those wild passes which, worn by mountain torrents and dark with jungle, lead down from the table-land of Mysore to the plains of the Carnatic. This great army was accompanied by a hundred pieces of cannon; and its movements were guided by many French officers, trained in the best military schools of Europe.

§ 105. Hyder was everywhere triumphant. The Sepoys in many British garrisons flung down their arms. Some forts were surrendered by treachery, and some by despair. In a few days the whole open country north of the Coleroon had submitted. The English inhabitants of Madras could already see by night, from the top of Mount St. Thomas, the eastern sky reddened by a vast semicircle of blazing villages. The white villas, to which our countrymen retire after the daily labours of government and of trade, when the cool evening breeze springs up from the bay, were now left without inhabitants; for bands of the fierce horsemen of Mysore had already been seen prowling among the tulip-trees, and near the gay verandas. Even the town was not thought secure, and the British merchants and public functionaries made haste to crowd themselves behind the cannon of Fort St. George.

§ 106. There were the means, indeed, of assembling an army which might have defended the presidency, and even driven the invader back to his mountains. Sir Hector Munro was at the head of one considerable force; Baillie was advancing with another. United, they might have presented a formidable front even to such an enemy as Hyder. But the English commanders, neglecting those fundamental rules of the military art of which the propriety is obvious even to men who had never received a military education, deferred their junction, and were separately attacked. Baillie's detachment was destroyed. Munro was forced to abandon his baggage, to fling his guns into the tanks, and to save himself by a retreat which might be called a flight. In three weeks from the commencement of the war, the British empire in Southern India had been brought to the verge of ruin. Only a few fortified places remained to us. The glory of our arms had departed. It was known that a great French

expedition might soon be expected on the coast of Coromandel. England, beset by enemies on every side, was in no condition to protect such remote dependencies.

§ 107. Then it was that the fertile genius and serene courage of Hastings achieved their most signal triumph. 5 A swift ship, flying before the south-west monsoon, brought the evil tidings in few days to Calcutta. In twenty-four hours the Governor-General had framed a complete plan of policy adapted to the altered state of affairs. The struggle with Hyder was a struggle for life 10 and death. All minor objects must be sacrificed to the preservation of the Carnatic. The disputes with the Mahrattas must be accommodated. A large military force and a supply of money must be instantly sent to Madras. But even these measures would be insufficient, 15 unless the war, hitherto so grossly mismanaged, were placed under the direction of a vigorous mind. It was no time for trifling. Hastings determined to resort to an extreme exercise of power, to suspend the incapable governor of Fort St. George, to send Sir Eyre Coote to 20 oppose Hyder, and to entrust that distinguished general with the whole administration of the war.

§ 108. In spite of the sullen opposition of Francis, who had now recovered from his wound and had returned to the Council, the Governor-General's wise and firm policy 25 was approved by the majority of the board. The reinforcements were sent off with great expedition, and reached Madras before the French armament arrived in the Indian seas. Coote, broken by age and disease, was no longer the Coote of Wandewash; but he was still a 30 resolute and skilful commander. The progress of Hyder was arrested; and in a few months the great victory of Porto Novo retrieved the honour of the English arms.

§ 109. In the meantime Francis had returned to England, and Hastings was now left perfectly unfettered. Wheler 35

had gradually been relaxing in his opposition, and, after the departure of his vehement and implacable colleague, co-operated heartily with the Governor-General, whose influence over the British in India, always great, had by the vigour and success of his recent measures been considerably increased.

§ 110. But, though the difficulties arising from factions within the Council were at an end, another class of difficulties had become more pressing than ever. The financial embarrassment was extreme. Hastings had to find the means, not only of carrying on the government of Bengal, but of maintaining a most costly war against both Indian and European enemies in the Carnatic, and of making remittances to England. A few years before this time he had obtained relief by plundering the Mogul and enslaving the Rohillas; nor were the resources of his fruitful mind by any means exhausted.

§ 111. His first design was on Benares, a city which in wealth, population, dignity, and sanctity, was among the foremost of Asia. It was commonly believed that half a million of human beings was crowded into that labyrinth of lofty alleys, rich with shrines, and minarets, and balconies, and carved oriels, to which the sacred apes clung by hundreds. The traveller could scarcely make his way through the press of holy mendicants and not less holy bulls. The broad and stately flights of steps which descended from these swarming haunts to the bathing-places along the Ganges were worn every day by the footsteps of an innumerable multitude of worshippers. The schools and temples drew crowds of pious Hindoos from every province where the Brahminical faith was known. Hundreds of devotees came thither every month to die: for it was believed that a peculiarly happy fate awaited the man who should pass from the sacred city into the sacred river. Nor was superstition the only

motive which allured strangers to that great metropolis. Commerce had as many pilgrims as religion. All along the shores of the venerable stream lay great fleets of vessels laden with rich merchandise. From the looms of Benares went forth the most delicate silks that adorned 5 the balls of St. James's and of Versailles; and in the bazars, the muslins of Bengal and the sabres of Oude were mingled with the jewels of Golconda and the shawls of Cashmere. This rich capital, and the surrounding tract, had long been under the immediate rule of a 10 Hindoo prince, who rendered homage to the Mogul emperors. During the great anarchy of India, the lords of Benares became independent of the court of Delhi, but were compelled to submit to the authority of the Nabob of Oude. Oppressed by this formidable neigh- 15 bour, they invoked the protection of the English. The English protection was given; and at length the Nabob Vizier, by a solemn treaty, ceded all his rights over Benares to the Company. From that time the Rajah was the vassal of the government of Bengal, acknowledged its 20 supremacy, and engaged to send an annual tribute to Fort William. This tribute Cheyte Sing, the reigning prince, had paid with strict punctuality.

§ 112. About the precise nature of the legal relation between the Company and the Rajah of Benares, there 25 has been much warm and acute controversy. On the one side, it has been maintained that Cheyte Sing was merely a great subject on whom the superior power had a right to call for aid in the necessities of the empire. On the other side, it has been contended that he was an 30 independent prince, that the only claim which the Company had upon him was for a fixed tribute, and that, while the fixed tribute was regularly paid, as it assuredly was, the English had no more right to exact any further contribution from him than to demand subsidies from 35

Holland or Denmark. Nothing is easier than to find precedents and analogies in favour of either view.

§ 113. Our own impression is that neither view is correct. It was too much the habit of English politicians to take it for granted that there was in India a known and definite constitution by which questions of this kind were to be decided. The truth is that, during the interval which elapsed between the fall of the house of Tamerlane and the establishment of the British ascendancy, there was no such constitution. The old order of things had passed away; the new order of things was not yet formed. All was transition, confusion, obscurity. Everybody kept his head as he best might, and scrambled for whatever he could get. There have been similar seasons in Europe. The time of the dissolution of the Carlovingian empire is an instance. Who would think of seriously discussing the question, what extent of pecuniary aid and of obedience Hugh Capet had a constitutional right to demand from the Duke of Brittany or the Duke of Normandy? The words "constitutional right" had, in that state of society, no meaning. If Hugh Capet laid hands on all the possessions of the Duke of Normandy, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the ordinances of Charles the Tenth were illegal. If, on the other hand, the Duke of Normandy made war on Hugh Capet, this might be unjust and immoral; but it would not be illegal, in the sense in which the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte was illegal.

§ 114. Very similar to this was the state of India sixty years ago. Of the existing governments not a single one could lay claim to legitimacy, or could plead any other title than recent occupation. There was scarcely a province in which the real sovereignty and the nominal sovereignty were not disjoined. Titles and forms were

still retained which implied that the heir of Tamerlane was an absolute ruler, and that the Nabobs of the provinces were his lieutenants. In reality, he was a captive. The Nabobs were in some places independent princes. In other places, as in Bengal and the Carnatic, they had, ⁵ like their master, become mere phantoms, and the Company was supreme. Among the Mahrattas, again, the heir of Sevajee still kept the title of Rajah: but he was a prisoner, and his prime minister, the Peshwa, had become the hereditary chief of the state. The Peshwa, ¹⁰ in his turn, was fast sinking into the same degraded situation into which he had reduced the Rajah. It was, we believe, impossible to find, from the Himalayas to Mysore, a single government which was at once a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*, which possessed ¹⁵ the physical means of making itself feared by its neighbours and subjects, and which had at the same time the authority derived from law and long prescription.

§ 115. Hastings clearly discerned, what was hidden from most of his contemporaries, that such a state of ²⁰ things gave immense advantages to a ruler of great talents and few scruples. In every international question that could arise, he had his option between the *de facto* ground and the *de jure* ground; and the probability was that one of those grounds would sustain any claim that it ²⁵ might be convenient for him to make, and enable him to resist any claim made by others. In every controversy, accordingly, he resorted to the plea which suited his immediate purpose, without troubling himself in the least about consistency; and thus he scarcely ever failed to ³⁰ find what, to persons of short memories and scanty information, seemed to be a justification for what he wanted to do. Sometimes the Nabob of Bengal is a shadow, sometimes a monarch. Sometimes the Vizier is a mere deputy, sometimes an independent potentate. If it is ³⁵

expedient for the Company to show some legal title to the revenues of Bengal, the grant under the seal of the Mogul is brought forward as an instrument of the highest authority. When the Mogul asks for the rents which
5 were reserved to him by that very grant, he is told that he is a mere pageant, that the English power rests on a very different foundation from a charter given by him, that he is welcome to play at royalty as long as he likes, but that he must expect no tribute from the real masters
10 of India.

§ 116. It is true that it was in the power of others, as well as of Hastings, to practise this legerdemain; but in the controversies of governments, sophistry is of little use unless it be backed by power. There is a principle which
15 Hastings was fond of asserting in the strongest terms, and on which he acted with undeviating steadiness. It is a principle which, we must own, though it may be grossly abused, can hardly be disputed in the present state of public law. It is this, that where an ambiguous
20 question arises between two governments, there is, if they cannot agree, no appeal except to force, and that the opinion of the stronger must prevail. Almost every question was ambiguous in India. The English government was the strongest in India. The consequences are
25 obvious. The English government might do exactly what it chose.

§ 117. The English government now chose to wring money out of Cheyte Sing. It had formerly been convenient to treat him as a sovereign prince; it was now
30 convenient to treat him as a subject. Dexterity inferior to that of Hastings could easily find, in the general chaos of laws and customs, arguments for either course. Hastings wanted a great supply. It was known that Cheyte Sing had a large revenue, and it was suspected that he
35 had accumulated a treasure. Nor was he a favourite

at Calcutta. He had, when the Governor-General was in great difficulties, courted the favour of Francis and Clavering. Hastings who, less perhaps from evil passions than from policy, seldom left an injury unpunished, was not sorry that the fate of Cheyte Sing should teach 5 neighbouring princes the same lesson which the fate of Nuncomar had already impressed on the inhabitants of Bengal.

§ 118. In 1778, on the first breaking out of the war with France, Cheyte Sing was called upon to pay, in 10 addition to his fixed tribute, an extraordinary contribution of fifty thousand pounds. In 1779, an equal sum was exacted. In 1780, the demand was renewed. Cheyte Sing, in the hope of obtaining some indulgence, secretly offered the Governor-General a bribe of twenty thousand 15 pounds. Hastings took the money, and his enemies have maintained that he took it intending to keep it. He certainly concealed the transaction, for a time, both from the Council in Bengal and from the Directors at home; nor did he ever give any satisfactory reason for 20 the concealment. Public spirit, or the fear of detection, at last determined him to withstand the temptation. He paid over the bribe to the Company's treasury, and insisted that the Rajah should instantly comply with the demands of the English government. The Rajah, after 25 the fashion of his countrymen, shuffled, solicited, and pleaded poverty. The grasp of Hastings was not to be so eluded. He added to the requisition another ten thousand pounds as a fine for delay, and sent troops to exact the money. 30

§ 119. The money was paid. But this was not enough. The late events in the south of India had increased the financial embarrassments of the Company. Hastings was determined to plunder Cheyte Sing, and, for that end, to fasten a quarrel on him. Accordingly, the Rajah was 35

now required to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the British government. He objected and evaded. This was exactly what the Governor-General wanted. He had now a pretext for treating the wealthiest of his vassals as a criminal. "I resolved,"—these are the words of Hastings himself,—“to draw from his guilt the means of relief of the Company’s distresses, to make him pay largely for his pardon, or to exact a severe vengeance for past delinquency.” The plan was simply this, to demand
10 larger and larger contributions till the Rajah should be driven to remonstrate, then to call his remonstrance a crime, and to punish him by confiscating all his possessions.

§ 120. Cheyte Sing was in the greatest dismay. He
15 offered two hundred thousand pounds to propitiate the British government. But Hastings replied that nothing less than half a million would be accepted. Nay, he began to think of selling Benares to Oude, as he had formerly sold Allahabad and Rohilcund. The matter was
20 one which could not be well managed at a distance; and Hastings resolved to visit Benares.

§ 121. Cheyte Sing received his liege lord with every mark of reverence, came near sixty miles, with his guards, to meet and escort the illustrious visitor, and expressed
25 his deep concern at the displeasure of the English. He even took off his turban, and laid it in the lap of Hastings, a gesture which in India marks the most profound submission and devotion. Hastings behaved with cold and repulsive severity. Having arrived at Benares,
30 he sent to the Rajah a paper containing the demands of the government of Bengal. The Rajah, in reply, attempted to clear himself from the accusations brought against him. Hastings, who wanted money and not excuses, was not to be put off by the ordinary artifices of
35 Eastern negotiation. He instantly ordered the Rajah to

be arrested and placed under the custody of two companies of sepoys.

§ 122. In taking these strong measures, Hastings scarcely showed his usual judgment. It is possible that, having had little opportunity of personally observing any part of the population of India except the Bengalees, he was not fully aware of the difference between their character and that of the tribes which inhabit the upper provinces. He was now in a land far more favourable to the vigour of the human frame than the Delta of the Ganges; in a land fruitful of soldiers, who have been found worthy to follow English battalions to the charge and into the breach. The Rajah was popular among his subjects. His administration had been mild; and the prosperity of the district which he governed presented a striking contrast to the depressed state of Bahar under our rule, and a still more striking contrast to the misery of the provinces which were cursed by the tyranny of the Nabob Vizier. The national and religious prejudices with which the English were regarded throughout India were peculiarly intense in the metropolis of the Brahminical superstition. It can therefore scarcely be doubted that the Governor-General, before he outraged the dignity of Cheyte Sing by an arrest, ought to have assembled a force capable of bearing down all opposition. This had not been done. The handful of sepoys who attended Hastings would probably have been sufficient to overawe Moorshedabad, or the Black Town of Calcutta. But they were unequal to a conflict with the hardy rabble of Benares. The streets surrounding the palace were filled by an immense multitude, of whom a large proportion, as is usual in Upper India, wore arms. The tumult became a fight, and the fight a massacre. The English officers defended themselves with desperate courage against overwhelming numbers, and fell, as became them,

sword in hand. The sepoy were butchered. The gates were forced. The captive prince, neglected by his jailers during the confusion, discovered an outlet which opened on the precipitous bank of the Ganges, let himself down
5 to the water by a string made of the turbans of his attendants, found a boat, and escaped to the opposite shore.

§ 123. If Hastings had, by indiscreet violence, brought himself into a difficult and perilous situation, it is only just to acknowledge that he extricated himself with even
10 more than his usual ability and presence of mind. He had only fifty men with him. The building in which he had taken up his residence was on every side blockaded by the insurgents. But his fortitude remained unshaken. The Rajah from the other side of the river sent apologies
15 and liberal offers. They were not even answered. Some subtle and enterprising men were found who undertook to pass through the throng of enemies, and to convey the intelligence of the late events to the English cantonments. It is the fashion of the natives of India to wear large
20 earrings of gold. When they travel, the rings are laid aside, lest the precious metal should tempt some gang of robbers; and, in place of the ring, a quill or a roll of paper is inserted in the orifice to prevent it from closing. Hastings placed in the ears of his messengers letters
25 rolled up in the smallest compass. Some of these letters were addressed to the commanders of English troops. One was written to assure his wife of his safety. One was to the envoy whom he had sent to negotiate with the Mahrattas. Instructions for the negotiation were
30 needed; and the Governor-General framed them in that situation of extreme danger, with as much composure as if he had been writing in his palace at Calcutta.

§ 124. Things, however, were not yet at the worst. An English officer of more spirit than judgment, eager
35 to distinguish himself, made a premature attack on the

insurgents beyond the river. His troops were entangled in narrow streets, and assailed by a furious population. He fell, with many of his men; and the survivors were forced to retire.

§ 125. This event produced the effect which has never 5 failed to follow every check, however slight, sustained in India by the English arms. For hundreds of miles round, the whole country was in commotion. The entire population of the district of Benares took arms. The fields were abandoned by the husbandmen, who thronged to 10 defend their prince. The infection spread to Oude. The oppressed people of that province rose up against the Nabob Vizier, refused to pay their imposts, and put the revenue officers to flight. Even Bahar was ripe for revolt. The hopes of Cheyte Sing began to rise. In-15 stead of imploring mercy in the humble style of a vassal, he began to talk the language of a conqueror, and threatened, it was said, to sweep the white usurpers out of the land. But the English troops were now assembling fast. The officers, and even the private men, re-20 garded the Governor-General with enthusiastic attachment, and flew to his aid with an alacrity which, as he boasted, had never been shown on any other occasion. Major Popham, a brave and skilful soldier, who had highly distinguished himself in the Mahratta war, and in 25 whom the Governor-General reposed the greatest confidence, took the command. The tumultuary army of the Rajah was put to rout. His fastnesses were stormed. In a few hours, above thirty thousand men left his standard, and returned to their ordinary avocations. The 30 unhappy prince fled from his country for ever. His fair domain was added to the British dominions. One of his relations indeed was appointed rajah; but the Rajah of Benares was henceforth to be, like the Nabob of Bengal, a mere pensioner.

§ 126. By this revolution, an addition of two hundred thousand pounds a year was made to the revenues of the Company. But the immediate relief was not as great as had been expected. The treasure laid up by Cheyte Sing had been popularly estimated at a million sterling. It turned out to be about a fourth part of that sum; and, such as it was, it was seized by the army, and divided as prize-money.

§ 127. Disappointed in his expectations from Benares, Hastings was more violent than he would otherwise have been, in his dealings with Oude. Sujah Dowlah had long been dead. His son and successor, Asaph-ul-Dowlah, was one of the weakest and most vicious even of Eastern princes. His life was divided between torpid repose and the most odious forms of sensuality. In his court there was boundless waste, throughout his dominions wretchedness and disorder. He had been, under the skilful management of the English government, gradually sinking from the rank of an independent prince to that of a vassal of the Company. It was only by the help of a British brigade that he could be secure from the aggressions of neighbours who despised his weakness, and from the vengeance of subjects who detested his tyranny. A brigade was furnished; and he engaged to defray the charge of paying and maintaining it. From that time his independence was at an end. Hastings was not a man to lose the advantage which he had thus gained. The Nabob soon began to complain of the burden which he had undertaken to bear. His revenues, he said, were falling off; his servants were unpaid; he could no longer support the expense of the arrangement which he had sanctioned. Hastings would not listen to these representations. The Vizier, he said, had invited the government of Bengal to send him troops and had promised to pay for them. The troops had been sent. How long

the troops were to remain in Oude was a matter not settled by the treaty. It remained, therefore, to be settled between the contracting parties. But the contracting parties differed. Who then must decide? The stronger.

§ 128. Hastings also argued that, if the English force was withdrawn, Oude would certainly become a prey to anarchy, and would probably be overrun by a Mahratta army. That the finances of Oude were embarrassed he admitted. But he contended, not without reason, that the embarrassment was to be attributed to the incapacity and vices of Asaph-ul-Dowla himself, and that, if less were spent on the troops, the only effect would be that more would be squandered on worthless favourites.

§ 129. Hastings had intended, after settling the affairs of Benares, to visit Lucknow, and there to confer with Asaph-ul-Dowla. But the obsequious courtesy of the Nabob Vizier prevented this visit. With a small train he hastened to meet the Governor-General. An interview took place in the fortress which, from the crest of the precipitous rock of Chunar, looks down on the waters of the Ganges.

§ 130. At first sight it might appear impossible that the negotiation should come to an amicable close. Hastings wanted an extraordinary supply of money. Asaph-ul-Dowla wanted to obtain a remission of what he already owed. Such a difference seemed to admit of no compromise. There was, however, one course satisfactory to both sides, one course by which it was possible to relieve the finances both of Oude and of Bengal; and that course was adopted. It was simply this, that the Governor-General and the Nabob Vizier should join to rob a third party; and the third party whom they determined to rob was the parent of one of the robbers.

§ 131. The mother of the late Nabob, and his wife,

who was the mother of the present Nabob, were known as the Begums or Princesses of Oude. They had possessed great influence over Sujah Dowlah, and had, at his death, been left in possession of a splendid dotation. 5 The domains of which they received the rents and administered the government were of wide extent. The treasure hoarded by the late Nabob, a treasure which was popularly estimated at near three millions sterling, was in their hands. They continued to occupy his favourite 10 palace at Fyzabad, the Beautiful Dwelling; while Asaph-ul-Dowlah held his court in the stately Lucknow, which he had built for himself on the shores of the Goomti, and had adorned with noble mosques and colleges.

§ 132. Asaph-ul-Dowlah had already extorted considerable sums from his mother. She had at length 15 appealed to the English; and the English had interfered. A solemn compact had been made, by which she consented to give her son some pecuniary assistance, and he in his turn promised never to commit any further 20 invasion of her rights. This compact was formally guaranteed by the government of Bengal. But times had changed; money was wanted; and the power which had given the guarantee was not ashamed to instigate the spoiler to excesses such that even he shrank from 25 them.

§ 133. It was necessary to find some pretext for a confiscation inconsistent, not merely with plighted faith, not merely with the ordinary rules of humanity and justice, but also with that great law of filial piety which, 30 even in the wildest tribes of savages, even in those more degraded communities which wither under the influence of a corrupt half-civilization, retains a certain authority over the human mind. A pretext was the last thing that Hastings was likely to want. The insurrection at 35 Benares had produced disturbances in Oude. These

disturbances it was convenient to impute to the Princesses. Evidence for the imputation there was scarcely any; unless reports wandering from one mouth to another, and gaining something by every transmission, may be called evidence. The accused were furnished 5 with no charge; they were permitted to make no defence; for the Governor-General wisely considered that, if he tried them, he might not be able to find a ground for plundering them. It was agreed between him and the Nabob Vizier that the noble ladies should, by a sweeping 10 act of confiscation, be stripped of their domains and treasures for the benefit of the Company, and that the sums thus obtained should be accepted by the government of Bengal in satisfaction of its claims on the government of Oude. 15

§ 134. While Asaph-ul-Dowlah was at Chunar, he was completely subjugated by the clear and commanding intellect of the English statesman. But, when they had separated, the Vizier began to reflect with uneasiness on the engagements into which he had entered. His mother 20 and grandmother protested and implored. His heart, deeply corrupted by absolute power and licentious pleasures, yet not naturally unfeeling, failed him in this crisis. Even the English resident at Lucknow, though hitherto devoted to Hastings, shrank from extreme 25 measures. But the Governor-General was inexorable. He wrote to the resident in terms of the greatest severity, and declared that, if the spoliation which had been agreed upon were not instantly carried into effect, he would himself go to Lucknow, and do that from which 30 feebler minds recoil with dismay. The resident, thus menaced, waited on his Highness, and insisted that the treaty of Chunar should be carried into full and immediate effect. Asaph-ul-Dowlah yielded, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he yielded to 35

compulsion. The lands were resumed; but the treasure was not so easily obtained. It was necessary to use violence. A body of the Company's troops marched to Fyzabad, and forced the gates of the palace. The Princesses were confined to their own apartments. But still they refused to submit. Some more stringent mode of coercion was to be found. A mode was found of which, even at this distance of time, we cannot speak without shame and sorrow.

§ 135. There were at Fyzabad two ancient men, belonging to that unhappy class which a practice, of immemorial antiquity in the East, has excluded from the pleasures of love and from the hope of posterity. It has always been held in Asiatic courts that beings thus estranged from sympathy with their kind are those whom princes may most safely trust. Sujah Dowlah had been of this opinion. He had given his entire confidence to the two eunuchs; and after his death they remained at the head of the household of his widow.

§ 136. These men were, by the orders of the British government, seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death, in order to extort money from the Princesses. After they had been two months in confinement, their health gave way. They implored permission to take a little exercise in the garden of their prison. The officer who was in charge of them stated that, if they were allowed this indulgence, there was not the smallest chance of their escaping, and that their irons really added nothing to the security of the custody in which they were kept. He did not understand the plan of his superiors. Their object in these inflictions was not security but torture; and all mitigation was refused. Yet this was not the worst. It was resolved by an English government that these two infirm old men should be delivered to the tormentors. For that purpose they were removed

to Lucknow. What horrors their dungeon there witnessed can only be guessed. But there remains on the records of Parliament, this letter, written by a British resident to a British soldier: "Sir, the Nabob having determined to inflict corporal punishment upon the prisoners under 5 your guard, this is to desire that his officers, when they shall come, may have free access to the prisoners, and be permitted to do with them as they shall see proper".

§ 137. While these barbarities were perpetrated at 10 Lucknow, the Princesses were still under duress at Fyzabad. Food was allowed to enter their apartments only in such scanty quantities that their female attendants were in danger of perishing with hunger. Month after month this cruelty continued, till at length, after 15 twelve hundred thousand pounds had been wrung out of the Princesses, Hastings began to think that he had really got to the bottom of their coffers, and that no rigour could extort more. Then at length the wretched men who were detained at Lucknow regained their 20 liberty. When their irons were knocked off, and the doors of their prison opened, their quivering lips, the tears which ran down their cheeks, and the thankgivings which they poured forth to the common Father of Mussulmans and Christians, melted even the stout hearts 25 of the English warriors who stood by.

§ 138. But we must not forget to do justice to Sir Elijah Impey's conduct on this occasion. It was not indeed easy for him to intrude himself into a business so entirely alien from all his official duties. But there was 30 something inexpressibly alluring, we must suppose, in the peculiar rankness of the infamy which was then to be got at Lucknow. He hurried thither as fast as relays of palanquin-bearers could carry him. A crowd of people came before him with affidavits against the Begums, 35

ready drawn in their hands. Those affidavits he did not read. Some of them, indeed, he could not read; for they were in the dialects of Northern India, and no interpreter was employed. He administered the oath
5 to the deponents with all possible expedition, and asked not a single question, not even whether they had perused the statements to which they swore. This work performed, he got again into his palanquin, and posted back to Calcutta, to be in time for the opening of term. The
10 cause was one which, by his own confession, lay altogether out of his jurisdiction. Under the charter of justice, he had no more right to enquire into crimes committed by Asiatics in Oude than the Lord President of the Court of Session of Scotland to hold an assize at
15 Exeter. He had no right to try the Begums, nor did he pretend to try them. With what object, then, did he undertake so long a journey? Evidently in order that he might give, in an irregular manner, that sanction which in a regular manner he could not give, to the
20 crimes of those who had recently hired him; and in order that a confused mass of testimony which he did not sift, which he did not even read, might acquire an authority not properly belonging to it, from the signature of the highest judicial functionary in India.

25 § 139. The time was approaching, however, when he was to be stripped of that robe which has never, since the Revolution, been disgraced so foully as by him. The state of India had for some time occupied much of the attention of the British Parliament. Towards the close
30 of the American war, two committees of the Commons sat on Eastern affairs. In one, Edmund Burke took the lead. The other was under the presidency of the able and versatile Henry Dundas, then Lord Advocate of Scotland. Great as are the changes which, during the
35 last sixty years, have taken place in our Asiatic dominions,

the reports which those committees laid on the table of the House will still be found most interesting and instructive.

§ 140. There was as yet no connection between the Company and either of the great parties in the state. The ministers had no motive to defend Indian abuses. On the contrary, it was for their interest to show, if possible, that the government and patronage of our Oriental empire might, with advantage, be transferred to themselves. The votes, therefore, which, in consequence of the reports made by the two committees, were passed by the Commons, breathed the spirit of stern and indignant justice. The severest epithets were applied to several of the measures of Hastings, especially to the Rohilla war; and it was resolved, on the motion of Mr. Dundas, that the Company ought to recall a Governor-General who had brought such calamities on the Indian people, and such dishonour on the British name. An act was passed for limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. The bargain which Hastings had made with the Chief Justice was condemned in the strongest terms; and an address was presented to the King, praying that Impey might be summoned home to answer for his misdeeds.

§ 141. Impey was recalled by a letter from the Secretary of State. But the proprietors of India Stock resolutely refused to dismiss Hastings from their service, and passed a resolution affirming, what was undeniably true, that they were entrusted by law with the right of naming and removing their Governor-General, and that they were not bound to obey the directions of a single branch of the legislature with respect to such nomination or removal.

§ 142. Thus supported by his employers, Hastings remained at the head of the government of Bengal till

the spring of 1785. His administration, so eventful and stormy, closed in almost perfect quiet. In the Council there was no regular opposition to his measures. Peace was restored to India. The Mahratta war had ceased. 5 Hyder was no more. A treaty had been concluded with his son, Tippoo; and the Carnatic had been evacuated by the armies of Mysore. Since the termination of the American war, England had no European enemy or rival in the Eastern seas.

10 § 143. On a general review of the long administration of Hastings, it is impossible to deny that, against the great crimes by which it is blemished, we have to set off great public services. England had passed through a perilous crisis. She still, indeed, maintained her place 15 in the foremost rank of European powers; and the manner in which she had defended herself against fearful odds had inspired surrounding nations with a high opinion both of her spirit and of her strength. Nevertheless, in every part of the world, except one, she had 20 been a loser. Not only had she been compelled to acknowledge the independence of thirteen colonies peopled by her children, and to conciliate the Irish by giving up the right of legislating for them; but, in the Mediterranean, in the Gulf of Mexico, on the coast of 25 Africa, on the continent of America, she had been compelled to cede the fruits of her victories in former wars. Spain regained Minorca and Florida; France regained Senegal, Goree, and several West Indian Islands. The only quarter of the world in which Britain had lost 30 nothing was the quarter in which her interests had been committed to the care of Hastings. In spite of the utmost exertions both of European and Asiatic enemies, the power of our country in the East had been greatly augmented. Benares was subjected; the Nabob Vizier 35 reduced to vassalage. That our influence had been thus

extended, nay, that Fort William and Fort St. George had not been occupied by hostile armies, was owing, if we may trust the general voice of the English in India, to the skill and resolution of Hastings.

§ 144. His internal administration, with all its blemishes, 5 gives him a title to be considered as one of the most remarkable men in our history. He dissolved the double government. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands. Out of a frightful anarchy, he educed at least a rude and imperfect order. The 10 whole organization by which justice was dispensed, revenue collected, peace maintained throughout a territory not inferior in population to the dominions of Lewis the Sixteenth or of the Emperor Joseph, was formed and superintended by him. He boasted that 15 every public office, without exception, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation. It is quite true that this system, after all the improvements suggested by the experience of sixty years, still needs improvement, and that it was at first far more defective than it now 20 is. But whoever seriously considers what it is to construct from the beginning the whole of a machine so vast and complex as a government, will allow that what Hastings effected deserves high admiration. To compare the most celebrated European ministers to him seems 25 to us as unjust as it would be to compare the best baker in London with Robinson Crusoe, who, before he could bake a single loaf, had to make his plough and his harrow, his fences and his scarecrows, his sickle and his flail, his mill and his oven. 30

§ 145. The just fame of Hastings rises still higher, when we reflect that he was not bred a statesman; that he was sent from school to a counting-house; and that he was employed during the prime of his manhood as a commercial agent, far from all intellectual society. 35

§ 146. Nor must we forget that all, or almost all, to whom, when placed at the head of affairs, he could apply for assistance, were persons who owed as little as himself, or less than himself, to education. A minister in Europe finds himself, on the first day on which he commences his functions, surrounded by experienced public servants, the depositaries of official traditions. Hastings had no such help. His own reflection, his own energy, were to supply the place of all Downing Street and Somerset House. Having had no facilities for learning, he was forced to teach. He had first to form himself, and then to form his instruments; and this not in a single department, but in all the departments of the administration.

§ 147. It must be added that, while engaged in this most arduous task, he was constantly trammelled by orders from home, and frequently borne down by a majority in council. The preservation of an Empire from a formidable combination of foreign enemies, the construction of a government in all its parts, were accomplished by him, while every ship brought out bales of censure from his employers, and while the records of every consultation were filled with acrimonious minutes by his colleagues. We believe that there never was a public man whose temper was so severely tried; not Marlborough, when thwarted by the Dutch Deputies; not Wellington, when he had to deal at once with the Portuguese Regency, the Spanish Juntas, and Mr. Percival. But the temper of Hastings was equal to almost any trial. It was not sweet; but it was calm. Quick and vigorous as his intellect was, the patience with which he endured the most cruel vexations, till a remedy could be found, resembled the patience of stupidity. He seems to have been capable of resentment, bitter and long-enduring; yet his resentment so

seldom hurried him into any blunder, that it may be doubted whether what appeared to be revenge was anything but policy.

§ 148. The effect of this singular equanimity was that he always had the full command of all the resources of one of the most fertile minds that ever existed. Accordingly no complication of perils and embarrassments could perplex him. For every difficulty he had a contrivance ready; and, whatever may be thought of the justice and humanity of some of his contrivances, it is certain that they seldom failed to serve the purpose for which they were designed.

§ 149. Together with this extraordinary talent for devising expedients, Hastings possessed, in a very high degree, another talent scarcely less necessary to a man in his situation; we mean the talent for conducting political controversy. It is as necessary to an English statesman in the East that he should be able to write, as it is to a minister in this country that he should be able to speak. It is chiefly by the oratory of a public man here that the nation judges of his powers. It is from the letters and reports of a public man in India that the dispensers of patronage form their estimate of him. In each case, the talent which receives peculiar encouragement is developed, perhaps at the expense of the other powers. In this country, we sometimes hear men speak above their abilities. It is not very unusual to find gentlemen in the Indian service who write above their abilities. The English politician is a little too much of a debater; the Indian politician a little too much of an essayist.

§ 150. Of the numerous servants of the Company who have distinguished themselves as framers of minutes and despatches, Hastings stands at the head. He was indeed the person who gave to the official writing of the Indian

governments the character which it still retains. He was matched against no common antagonist. But even Francis was forced to acknowledge, with sullen and resentful candour, that there was no contending against the pen of Hastings. And, in truth, the Governor-General's power of making out a case, of perplexing what it was inconvenient that people should understand, and of setting in the clearest point of view whatever would bear the light, was incomparable. His style must be praised with some reservation. It was in general forcible, pure, and polished; but it was sometimes, though not often, turgid, and, on one or two occasions, even bombastic. Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.

§ 151. And, since we have referred to his literary tastes, it would be most unjust not to praise the judicious encouragement which, as a ruler, he gave to liberal studies and curious researches. His patronage was extended, with prudent generosity, to voyages, travels, experiments, publications. He did little, it is true, towards introducing into India the learning of the West. To make the young natives of Bengal familiar with Milton and Adam Smith, to substitute the geography, astronomy, and surgery of Europe for the dotages of the Brahminical superstition, or for the imperfect science of ancient Greece transfused through Arabian expositions, this was a scheme reserved to crown the beneficent administration of a far more virtuous ruler. Still, it is impossible to refuse high commendation to a man who, taken from a ledger to govern an empire, overwhelmed by public business, surrounded by people as busy as himself, and separated by thousands of leagues from almost all literary society, gave, both by his example and by his munificence, a great impulse to learning. In Persian and Arabic literature he was deeply skilled.

With the Sanscrit he was not himself acquainted; but those who first brought that language to the knowledge of European students owed much to his encouragement. It was under his protection that the Asiatic Society commenced its honourable career. That distinguished body selected him to be its first president; but, with excellent taste and feeling, he declined the honour in favour of Sir William Jones. But the chief advantage which the students of Oriental letters derived from his patronage remains to be mentioned. The Pundits of Bengal had always looked with great jealousy on the attempts of foreigners to pry into those mysteries which were locked up in the sacred dialect. The Brahminical religion had been persecuted by the Mahommedans. What the Hindoos knew of the spirit of the Portuguese government might warrant them in apprehending persecution from Christians. That apprehension, the wisdom and moderation of Hastings removed. He was the first foreign ruler who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the hereditary priests of India, and who induced them to lay open to English scholars the secrets of the old Brahminical theology and jurisprudence.

§ 152. It is indeed impossible to deny that, in the great art of inspiring large masses of human beings with confidence and attachment, no ruler ever surpassed Hastings. If he had made himself popular with the English by giving up the Bengalees to extortion and oppression, or if, on the other hand, he had conciliated the Bengalees and alienated the English, there would have been no cause for wonder. What is peculiar to him is that, being the chief of a small band of strangers who exercised boundless power over a great indigenous population, he made himself beloved both by the subject many and by the dominant few. The affection felt for him by the civil service was singularly ardent and con-

stant. Through all his disasters and perils, his brethren stood by him with steadfast loyalty. The army, at the same time, loved him as armies have seldom loved any but the greatest chiefs who have led them to victory.

5 Even in his disputes with distinguished military men, he could always count on the support of the military profession. While such was his empire over the hearts of his countrymen, he enjoyed among the natives a popularity, such as other governors have perhaps better

10 merited, but such as no other governor has been able to attain. He spoke their vernacular dialects with facility and precision. He was intimately acquainted with their feelings and usages. On one or two occasions, for great ends, he deliberately acted in defiance of their opinion;

15 but on such occasions he gained more in their respect than he lost in their love. In general, he carefully avoided all that could shock their national or religious prejudices. His administration was indeed in many respects faulty; but the Bengalee standard of good

20 government was not high. Under the Nabobs, the hurricane of Mahratta cavalry had passed annually over the rich alluvial plain. But even the Mahratta shrank from a conflict with the mighty children of the sea; and the immense rice harvests of the Lower Ganges were

25 safely gathered in, under the protection of the English sword. The first English conquerors had been more rapacious and merciless even than the Mahrattas; but that generation had passed away. Defective as was the police, heavy as were the public burdens, it is probable

30 that the oldest man in Bengal could not recollect a season of equal security and prosperity. For the first time within living memory, the province was placed under a government strong enough to prevent others from robbing, and not inclined to play the robber itself.

35 These things inspired good-will. At the same time, the

constant success of Hastings and the manner in which he extricated himself from every difficulty made him an object of superstitious admiration; and the more than regal splendour which he sometimes displayed dazzled a people who have much in common with children. Even now, after the lapse of more than fifty years, the natives of India still talk of him as the greatest of the English; and nurses sing children to sleep with a jingling ballad about the fleet horses and richly caparisoned elephants of Sahib Warren Hostein.

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§ 153. The gravest offences of which Hastings was guilty did not affect his popularity with the people of Bengal; for those offences were committed against neighbouring states. Those offences, as our readers must have perceived, we are not disposed to vindicate; yet, in order that the censure may be justly apportioned to the transgression, it is fit that the motive of the criminal should be taken into consideration. The motive which prompted the worst acts of Hastings was misdirected and ill-regulated public spirit. The rules of justice, the sentiments of humanity, the plighted faith of treaties, were in his view as nothing when opposed to the immediate interest of the state. This is no justification, according to the principles either of morality, or of what we believe to be identical with morality, namely, far-sighted policy. Nevertheless the common sense of mankind, which in questions of this sort seldom goes far wrong, will always recognize a distinction between crimes which originate in an inordinate zeal for the commonwealth, and crimes which originate in selfish cupidity. To the benefit of this distinction Hastings is fairly entitled. There is, we conceive, no reason to suspect that the Rohilla war, the revolution of Benares, or the spoliation of the Princesses of Oude, added a rupee to his fortune. We will not affirm that in all pecuniary

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dealings he showed that punctilious integrity, that dread of the faintest appearance of evil, which is now the glory of the Indian civil service. But when the school in which he had been trained and the temptations to which he was exposed are considered, we are more inclined to praise him for his general uprightness with respect to money, than rigidly to blame him for a few transactions which would now be called indelicate and irregular, but which even now would hardly be designated as corrupt.

10 A rapacious man he certainly was not. Had he been so, he would infallibly have returned to his country the richest subject in Europe. We speak within compass when we say that, without applying any extraordinary pressure, he might easily have obtained from the zemindars of the Company's provinces and from neighbouring

15 princes, in the course of thirteen years, more than three millions sterling, and might have outshone the splendour of Carlton House and of the *Palais Royal*. He brought home a fortune such as a Governor-General, fond of state, and careless of thrift, might easily, during so long a tenure of office, save out of his legal salary. Mrs. Hastings, we are afraid, was less scrupulous. It was generally believed that she accepted presents with great alacrity, and that she thus formed, without the con-

20 nivance of her husband, a private hoard amounting to several lacs of rupees. We are the more inclined to give credit to this story, because Mr. Gleig, who cannot but have heard it, does not, as far as we have observed, notice or contradict it.

25 § 154. The influence of Mrs. Hastings over her husband was indeed such that she might easily have obtained much larger sums than she was ever accused of receiving. At length her health began to give way; and the Governor-General, much against his will, was compelled to

35 send her to England. He seems to have loved her with

that love which is peculiar to men of strong minds, to men whose affection is not easily won or widely diffused. The talk of Calcutta ran for some time on the luxurious manner in which he fitted up the round-house of an Indiaman for her accommodation, on the profusion of 5 sandal-wood and carved ivory which adorned her cabin, and on the thousands of rupees which had been expended in order to procure for her the society of an agreeable female companion during the voyage. We may remark here that the letters of Hastings to his wife are exceed-10 ingly characteristic. They are tender, and full of indications of esteem and confidence; but, at the same time, a little more ceremonious than is usual in so intimate a relation. The solemn courtesy with which he compliments "his elegant Marian" reminds us now and then 15 of the dignified air with which Sir Charles Grandison bowed over Miss Byron's hand in the cedar parlour.

§ 155. After some months, Hastings prepared to follow his wife to England. When it was announced that he was about to quit his office, the feeling of the society 20 which he had so long governed manifested itself by many signs. Addresses poured in from Europeans and Asiatics, from civil functionaries, soldiers, and traders. On the day on which he delivered up the keys of office, a crowd of friends and admirers formed a lane to the quay where 25 he embarked. Several barges escorted him far down the river; and some attached friends refused to quit him till the low coast of Bengal was fading from the view, and till the pilot was leaving the ship.

§ 156. Of his voyage little is known, except that he 30 amused himself with books and with his pen; and that, among the compositions by which he beguiled the tediousness of that long leisure, was a pleasing imitation of Horace's *Otium Divos rogat*. This little poem was inscribed to Mr. Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, a 35

man of whose integrity, humanity, and honour, it is impossible to speak too highly, but who, like some other excellent members of the civil service, extended to the conduct of his friend Hastings an indulgence of which his own conduct never stood in need.

§ 157. The voyage was, for those times, very speedy. Hastings was little more than four months on the sea. In June, 1785, he landed at Plymouth, posted to London, appeared at Court, paid his respects in Leadenhall Street, and then retired with his wife to Cheltenham.

§ 158. He was greatly pleased with his reception. The King treated him with marked distinction. The Queen, who had already incurred much censure on account of the favour which, in spite of the ordinary severity of her virtue, she had shown to the "elegant Marian", was not less gracious to Hastings. The Directors received him in a solemn sitting; and their chairman read to him a vote of thanks which they had passed without one dissentient voice. "I find myself," said Hastings, in a letter written about a quarter of a year after his arrival in England, "I find myself everywhere, and universally, treated with evidences, apparent even to my own observation, that I possess the good opinion of my country."

§ 159. The confident and exulting tone of his correspondence about this time is the more remarkable, because he had already received ample notice of the attack which was in preparation. Within a week after he landed at Plymouth, Burke gave notice in the House of Commons of a motion seriously affecting a gentleman lately returned from India. The session, however, was then so far advanced, that it was impossible to enter on so extensive and important a subject.

§ 160. Hastings, it is clear, was not sensible of the danger of his position. Indeed that sagacity, that judg-

ment, that readiness in devising expedients, which had distinguished him in the East, seemed now to have forsaken him; not that his abilities were at all impaired; not that he was not still the same man who had triumphed over Francis and Nuncomar, who had made the Chief Justice and the Nabob Vizier his tools, who had deposed Cheyte Sing, and repelled Hyder Ali. But an oak, as Mr. Grattan finely said, should not be transplanted at fifty. A man who, having left England when a boy, returns to it after thirty or forty years passed in India, will find, be his talents what they may, that he has much both to learn and to unlearn before he can take a place among English statesmen. The working of a representative system, the war of parties, the arts of debate, the influence of the press, are startling novelties to him. Surrounded on every side by new machines and new tactics, he is as much bewildered as Hannibal would have been at Waterloo, or Themistocles at Trafalgar. His very acuteness deludes him. His very vigour causes him to stumble. The more correct his maxims, when applied to the state of society to which he is accustomed, the more certain they are to lead him astray. This was strikingly the case with Hastings. In India he had a bad hand; but he was master of the game, and he won every stake. In England he held excellent cards, if he had known how to play them; and it was chiefly by his own errors that he was brought to the verge of ruin.

§ 161. Of all his errors the most serious was perhaps the choice of a champion. Clive, in similar circumstances had made a singularly happy selection. He put himself into the hands of Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, one of the few great advocates who have also been great in the House of Commons. To the defence of Clive, therefore, nothing was wanting, neither learning nor knowledge of the world, neither forensic acuteness

nor that eloquence which charms political assemblies. Hastings entrusted his interests to a very different person, a major in the Bengal army, named Scott. This gentleman had been sent over from India some time before
5 as the agent of the Governor-General. It was rumoured that his services were rewarded with Oriental munificence; and we believe that he received much more than Hastings could conveniently spare. The Major obtained a seat in Parliament, and was there regarded as the organ of his em-
10 ployer. It was evidently impossible that a gentleman so situated could speak with the authority which belongs to an independent position. Nor had the agent of Hastings the talents necessary for obtaining the ear of an assembly which, accustomed to listen to great orators, had naturally
15 become fastidious. He was always on his legs; he was very tedious; and he had only one topic, the merits and wrongs of Hastings. Everybody who knows the House of Commons will easily guess what followed. The Major was soon considered as the greatest bore of his time. His
20 exertions were not confined to Parliament. There was hardly a day on which the newspapers did not contain some puff upon Hastings, signed *Asiaticus* or *Bengalensis*, but known to be written by the indefatigable Scott; and hardly a month in which some bulky pamphlet on the
25 same subject, and from the same pen, did not pass to the trunkmakers and the pastrycooks. As to this gentleman's capacity for conducting a delicate question through Parliament, our readers will want no evidence beyond that which they will find in letters preserved in these
30 volumes. We will give a single specimen of his temper and judgment. He designated the greatest man then living as "that reptile Mr. Burke".

§ 162. In spite, however, of this unfortunate choice, the general aspect of affairs was favourable to Hastings.
35 The King was on his side. The Company and its ser-

vants were zealous in his cause. Among public men he had many ardent friends. Such were Lord Mansfield, who had outlived the vigour of his body, but not that of his mind; and Lord Lansdowne, who, though unconnected with any party, retained the importance which belongs to great talents and knowledge. The ministers were generally believed to be favourable to the late Governor-General. They owed their power to the clamour which had been raised against Mr. Fox's East India Bill. The authors of that bill, when accused of invading vested rights, and of setting up powers unknown to the constitution, had defended themselves by pointing to the crimes of Hastings, and by arguing that abuses so extraordinary justified extraordinary measures. Those who, by opposing that bill, had raised themselves to the head of affairs, would naturally be inclined to extenuate the evils which had been made the plea for administering so violent a remedy; and such, in fact, was their general disposition. The Lord Chancellor Thurlow, in particular, whose great place and force of intellect gave him a weight in the government inferior only to that of Mr. Pitt, espoused the cause of Hastings with indecorous violence. Mr. Pitt, though he had censured many parts of the Indian system, had studiously abstained from saying a word against the late chief of the Indian government. To Major Scott, indeed, the young minister had in private extolled Hastings as a great, a wonderful man, who had the highest claims on the government. There was only one objection to granting all that so eminent a servant of the public could ask. The resolution of censure still remained on the journals of the House of Commons. That resolution was, indeed, unjust; but, till it was rescinded, could the minister advise the King to bestow any mark of approbation on the person censured? If Major Scott is to be trusted, Mr. Pitt declared that this was the only

reason which prevented the advisers of the Crown from conferring a peerage on the late Governor-General. Mr. Dundas was the only important member of the administration who was deeply committed to a different
5 view of the subject. He had moved the resolution which created the difficulty; but even from him little was to be apprehended. Since he had presided over the committee on Eastern affairs, great changes had taken place. He was surrounded by new allies; he had fixed his hopes on
10 new objects; and whatever may have been his good qualities — and he had many, — flattery itself never reckoned rigid consistency in the number.

§ 163. From the Ministry, therefore, Hastings had every reason to expect support; and the Ministry was
15 very powerful. The Opposition was loud and vehement against him. But the Opposition, though formidable from the wealth and influence of some of its members, and from the admirable talents and eloquence of others, was outnumbered in parliament, and odious throughout
20 the country. Nor, so far as we can judge, was the Opposition generally desirous to engage in so serious an undertaking as the impeachment of an Indian Governor. Such an impeachment must last for years. It must impose on the chiefs of the party an immense load of
25 labour. Yet it could scarcely, in any manner, affect the event of the great political game. The followers of the coalition were therefore more inclined to revile Hastings than to prosecute him. They lost no opportunity of coupling his name with the names of the most hateful
30 tyrants of whom history makes mention. The wits of Brooks's aimed their keenest sarcasms both at his public and at his domestic life. Some fine diamonds which he had presented, as it was rumoured, to the royal family, and a certain richly carved ivory bed which the Queen
35 had done him the honour to accept from him, were

favourite subjects of ridicule. One lively poet proposed, that the great acts of the fair Marian's present husband should be immortalized by the pencil of his predecessor; and that Imhoff should be employed to embellish the House of Commons with paintings of the bleeding Rohillas, of Nuncomar swinging, of Cheyte Sing letting himself down to the Ganges. Another, in an exquisitely humorous parody of Virgil's third eclogue, propounded the question, what that mineral could be of which the rays had power to make the most austere of princesses the friend of a wanton. A third described, with gay malevolence, the gorgeous appearance of Mrs. Hastings at St. James's, the galaxy of jewels, torn from Indian Begums, which adorned her head-dress, her necklace gleaming with future votes, and the depending questions that shone upon her ears. Satirical attacks of this description, and perhaps a motion for a vote of censure, would have satisfied the great body of the Opposition. But there were two men whose indignation was not to be so appeased, Philip Francis and Edmund Burke.

§ 164. Francis had recently entered the House of Commons, and had already established a character there for industry and ability. He laboured indeed under one most unfortunate defect, want of fluency. But he occasionally expressed himself with a dignity and energy worthy of the greatest orators. Before he had been many days in parliament, he incurred the bitter dislike of Pitt, who constantly treated him with as much asperity as the laws of debate would allow. Neither lapse of years nor change of scene had mitigated the enmities which Francis had brought back from the East. After his usual fashion, he mistook his malevolence for virtue, nursed it, as preachers tell us that we ought to nurse our good dispositions, and paraded it, on all occasions, with Pharisaical ostentation.

§ 165. The zeal of Burke was still fiercer; but it was far purer. Men unable to understand the elevation of his mind have tried to find out some discreditable motive for the vehemence and pertinacity which he showed on this occasion. But they have altogether failed. The idle story that he had some private slight to revenge has long been given up, even by the advocates of Hastings. Mr. Gleig supposes that Burke was actuated by party spirit, that he retained a bitter remembrance of the fall of the coalition, that he attributed that fall to the exertions of the East India interest, and that he considered Hastings as the head and the representative of that interest. This explanation seems to be sufficiently refuted by a reference to dates. The hostility of Burke to Hastings commenced long before the coalition; and lasted long after Burke had become a strenuous supporter of those by whom the coalition had been defeated. It began when Burke and Fox, closely allied together, were attacking the influence of the crown, and calling for peace with the American republic. It continued till Burke, alienated from Fox, and loaded with the favours of the crown, died, preaching a crusade against the French republic. We surely cannot attribute to the events of 1784 an enmity which began in 1781, and which retained undiminished force long after persons far more deeply implicated than Hastings in the events of 1784 had been cordially forgiven. And why should we look for any other explanation of Burke's conduct than that which we find on the surface? The plain truth is that Hastings had committed some great crimes, and that the thought of those crimes made the blood of Burke boil in his veins. For Burke was a man in whom compassion for suffering, and hatred of injustice and tyranny, were as strong as in Las Casas or Clarkson. And although in him, as in Las Casas and in Clarkson, these noble feelings were alloyed with the

infirmity which belongs to human nature, he is, like them, entitled to this great praise, that he devoted years of intense labour to the service of a people with whom he had neither blood nor language, neither religion nor manners in common, and from whom no requital, no thanks, no applause could be expected.

§ 166. His knowledge of India was such as few, even of those Europeans who have passed many years in that country, have attained, and such as certainly was never attained by any public man who had not quitted Europe. 10 He had studied the history, the laws, and the usages of the East with an industry, such as is seldom found united to so much genius and so much sensibility. Others have perhaps been equally laborious, and have collected an equal mass of materials. But the manner in which 15 Burke brought his higher powers of intellect to work on statements of facts, and on tables of figures, was peculiar to himself. In every part of those huge bales of Indian information which repelled almost all other readers, his mind, at once philosophical and poetical, found some- 20 thing to instruct or to delight. His reason analysed and digested those vast and shapeless masses; his imagination animated and coloured them. Out of darkness, and dullness, and confusion, he formed a multitude of ingenious theories and vivid pictures. He had, in the highest 25 degree, that noble faculty whereby man is able to live in the past and in the future, in the distant and in the unreal. India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most Englishmen, mere names and abstractions, but a real country and a real people. The burning sun, the 30 strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa-tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees, older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the imaum prays with his face to Mecca, 35

the drums, and banners, and gaudy idols, the devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden, with the pitcher on her head, descending the steps to the river-side, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, 5 the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the prince, and the close litter of the noble lady, all these things were to him as the objects amidst which his own life had been passed, as the 10 objects which lay on the road between Beaconsfield and St. James's Street. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazar, humming 15 like a bee-hive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas. He had just as lively an idea of the insurrection of Benares as of Lord George Gordon's riots, and of the execution of Nuncomar 20 as of the execution of Dr. Dodd. Oppression in Bengal was to him the same thing as oppression in the streets of London.

§ 167. He saw that Hastings had been guilty of some most unjustifiable acts. All that followed was natural 25 and necessary in a mind like Burke's. His imagination and his passions, once excited, hurried him beyond the bounds of justice and good sense. His reason, powerful as it was, became the slave of feelings which it should have controlled. His indignation, virtuous in its origin, 30 acquired too much of the character of personal aversion. He could see no mitigating circumstance, no redeeming merit. His temper, which, though generous and affectionate, had always been irritable, had now been made almost savage by bodily infirmities and mental vexations. 35 Conscious of great powers and great virtues, he found

himself, in age and poverty, a mark for the hatred of a perfidious court and a deluded people. In Parliament his eloquence was out of date. A young generation, which knew him not, had filled the House. Whenever he rose to speak, his voice was drowned by the unseemly interruption of lads who were in their cradles when his orations on the Stamp Act called forth the applause of the great Earl of Chatham. These things had produced on his proud and sensitive spirit an effect at which we cannot wonder. He could no longer discuss any question with calmness, or make allowance for honest differences of opinion. Those who think that he was more violent and acrimonious in debates about India than on other occasions are ill informed respecting the last years of his life. In the discussions on the Commercial Treaty with the Court of Versailles, on the Regency, on the French Revolution, he showed even more virulence than in conducting the impeachment. Indeed it may be remarked that the very persons who called him a mischievous maniac, for condemning in burning words the Rohilla war and the spoliation of the Begums, exalted him into a prophet as soon as he began to declaim, with greater vehemence, and not with greater reason, against the taking of the Bastille and the insults offered to Marie Antoinette. To us he appears to have been neither a maniac in the former case, nor a prophet in the latter, but in both cases a great and good man, led into extravagance by a sensibility which domineered over all his faculties.

§ 168. It may be doubted whether the personal antipathy of Francis, or the nobler indignation of Burke, would have led their party to adopt extreme measures against Hastings, if his own conduct had been judicious. He should have felt that, great as his public services had been, he was not faultless, and should have been

content to make his escape, without aspiring to the honours of a triumph. He and his agent took a different view. They were impatient for the rewards which, as they conceived, were deferred only till Burke's attack should be over. They accordingly resolved to force on a decisive action with an enemy for whom, if they had been wise, they would have made a bridge of gold. On the first day of the session of 1786, Major Scott reminded Burke of the notice given in the preceding year, and asked whether it was seriously intended to bring any charge against the late Governor-General. This challenge left no course open to the Opposition, except to come forward as accusers, or to acknowledge themselves calumniators. The administration of Hastings had not been so blameless, nor was the great party of Fox and North so feeble, that it could be prudent to venture on so bold a defiance. The leaders of the Opposition instantly returned the only answer which they could with honour return; and the whole party was irrevocably pledged to a prosecution.

§ 169. Burke began his operations by applying for Papers. Some of the documents for which he asked were refused by the ministers, who, in the debate, held language such as strongly confirmed the prevailing opinion, that they intended to support Hastings. In April, the charges were laid on the table. They had been drawn by Burke with great ability, though in a form too much resembling that of a pamphlet. Hastings was furnished with a copy of the accusation; and it was intimated to him that he might, if he thought fit, be heard in his own defence at the bar of the Commons.

§ 170. Here again Hastings was pursued by the same fatality which had attended him ever since the day when he set foot on English ground. It seemed to be decreed that this man, so politic and so successful in

the East, should commit nothing but blunders in Europe. Any judicious adviser would have told him that the best thing which he could do would be to make an eloquent, forcible, and affecting oration at the bar of the House; but that, if he could not trust himself to ⁵ speak, and found it necessary to read, he ought to be as concise as possible. Audiences accustomed to extemporaneous debating of the highest excellence are always impatient of long written compositions. Hastings, however, sat down as he would have done at the Govern-¹⁰ment-house in Bengal, and prepared a paper of immense length. That paper, if recorded on the consultations of an Indian administration, would have been justly praised as a very able minute. But it was now out of place. It fell flat, as the best written defence must have ¹⁵ fallen flat, on an assembly accustomed to the animated and strenuous conflicts of Pitt and Fox. The members, as soon as their curiosity about the face and demeanour of so eminent a stranger was satisfied, walked away to dinner, and left Hastings to tell his story till midnight ²⁰ to the clerks and the Sergeant-at-arms.

§ 171. All preliminary steps having been duly taken, Burke, in the beginning of June, brought forward the charge relating to the Rohilla war. He acted discreetly in placing this accusation in the van; for Dundas had ²⁵ formerly moved, and the House had adopted, a resolution condemning, in the most severe terms, the policy followed by Hastings with regard to Rohilcund. Dundas had little, or rather nothing, to say in defence of his own consistency; but he put a bold face on the ³⁰ matter, and opposed the motion. Among other things, he declared that, though he still thought the Rohilla war unjustifiable, he considered the services which Hastings had subsequently rendered to the state as sufficient to atone even for so great an offence. Pitt did not ³⁵

5 speak, but voted with Dundas; and Hastings was absolved by a hundred and nineteen votes against sixty-seven.

§ 172. Hastings was now confident of victory. It
5 seemed, indeed, that he had reason to be so. The Rohilla war was, of all his measures, that which his accusers might with greatest advantage assail. It had been condemned by the Court of Directors. It had been condemned by the House of Commons. It had
10 been condemned by Mr. Dundas, who had since become the chief minister of the Crown for Indian affairs. Yet Burke, having chosen this strong ground, had been completely defeated on it. That, having failed here, he should succeed on any point, was generally thought
15 impossible. It was rumoured at the clubs and coffee-houses that one or perhaps two more charges would be brought forward, that if, on those charges, the sense of the House of Commons should be against impeachment, the Opposition would let the matter drop, that
20 Hastings would be immediately raised to the peerage, decorated with the star of the Bath, sworn of the privy council, and invited to lend the assistance of his talents and experience to the India board. Lord Thurlow, indeed, some months before, had spoken with contempt
25 of the scruples which prevented Pitt from calling Hastings to the House of Lords; and had even said that, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer was afraid of the Commons, there was nothing to prevent the Keeper of the Great Seal from taking the royal pleasure about a patent of
30 peerage. The very title was chosen. Hastings was to be Lord Daylesford. For through all changes of scene and changes of fortune, remained unchanged his attachment to the spot which had witnessed the greatness and the fall of his family, and which had borne so great
35 a part in the first dreams of his young ambition.

§ 173. But in a very few days these fair prospects were overcast. On the thirteenth of June, Mr. Fox brought forward, with great ability and eloquence, the charge respecting the treatment of Cheyte Sing. Francis followed on the same side. The friends of Hastings were in high spirits when Pitt rose. With his usual abundance and felicity of language, the Minister gave his opinion on the case. He maintained that the Governor-General was justified in calling on the Rajah of Benares for pecuniary assistance, and in imposing a fine when that assistance was contumaciously withheld. He also thought that the conduct of the Governor-General during the insurrection had been distinguished by ability and presence of mind. He censured, with great bitterness, the conduct of Francis, both in India and in Parliament, as most dishonest and malignant. The necessary inference from Pitt's arguments seemed to be that Hastings ought to be honourably acquitted; and both the friends and the opponents of the Minister expected from him a declaration to that effect. To the astonishment of all parties, he concluded by saying that, though he thought it right in Hastings to fine Cheyte Sing for contumacy, yet the amount of the fine was too great for the occasion. On this ground, and on this ground alone, did Mr. Pitt, applauding every other part of the conduct of Hastings with regard to Benares, declare that he should vote in favour of Mr. Fox's motion.

§ 174. The House was thunderstruck; and it well might be so. For the wrong done to Cheyte Sing, even had it been as flagitious as Fox and Francis contended, was a trifle when compared with the horrors which had been inflicted on Rohilcund. But if Mr. Pitt's view of the case of Cheyte Sing were correct, there was no ground for an impeachment, or even for a vote of censure.

If the offence of Hastings was really no more than this, that, having a right to impose a mulct, the amount of which mulct was not defined, but was left to be settled by his discretion, he had, not for his own advantage, but
5 for that of the state, demanded too much, was this an offence which required a criminal proceeding of the highest solemnity, a criminal proceeding, to which, during sixty years, no public functionary had been subjected? We can see, we think, in what way a man of sense and
10 integrity might have been induced to take any course respecting Hastings, except the course which Mr. Pitt took. Such a man might have thought a great example necessary, for the preventing of injustice, and for the vindicating of the national honour, and might, on that
15 ground, have voted for impeachment both on the Rohilla charge, and on the Benares charge. Such a man might have thought that the offences of Hastings had been atoned for by great services, and might, on that ground, have voted against the impeachment, on both charges.
20 With great diffidence, we give it as our opinion that the most correct course would, on the whole, have been to impeach on the Rohilla charge, and to acquit on the Benares charge. Had the Benares charge appeared to us in the same light in which it appeared to Mr. Pitt,
25 we should, without hesitation, have voted for acquittal on that charge. The one course which it is inconceivable that any man of a tenth part of Mr. Pitt's abilities can have honestly taken was the course which he took. He acquitted Hastings on the Rohilla charge. He softened
30 down the Benares charge till it became no charge at all; and then he pronounced that it contained matter for impeachment.

§ 175. Nor must it be forgotten that the principal reason assigned by the ministry for not impeaching
35 Hastings on account of the Rohilla war was this, that

the delinquencies of the early part of his administration had been atoned for by the excellence of the later part. Was it not most extraordinary that men who had held this language could afterwards vote that the later part of his administration furnished matter for no less 5 than twenty articles of impeachment? They first represented the conduct of Hastings in 1780 and 1781 as so highly meritorious that, like works of supererogation in the Catholic theology, it ought to be efficacious for the cancelling of former offences; and they then 10 prosecuted him for his conduct in 1780 and 1781.

§ 176. The general astonishment was the greater, because only twenty-four hours before, the members on whom the minister could depend had received the usual notes from the Treasury, begging them to be in their places 15 and to vote against Mr. Fox's motion. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings, that, early on the morning of the very day on which the debate took place, Dundas called on Pitt, woke him, and was closeted with him many hours. The result of this conference was a determination to give 20 up the late Governor-General to the vengeance of the Opposition. It was impossible even for the most powerful minister to carry all his followers with him in so strange a course. Several persons high in office, the Attorney-General, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Mulgrave, 25 divided against Mr. Pitt. But the devoted adherents who stood by the head of the government without asking questions, were sufficiently numerous to turn the scale. A hundred and nineteen members voted for Mr. Fox's motion; seventy-nine against it. Dundas silently followed 30 Pitt.

§ 177. That good and great man, the late William Wilberforce, often related the events of this remarkable night. He described the amazement of the House, and the bitter reflections which were muttered against the 35

Prime Minister by some of the habitual supporters of government. Pitt himself appeared to feel that his conduct required some explanation. He left the treasury bench, sat for some time next to Mr. Wilberforce, and
5 very earnestly declared that he had found it impossible, as a man of conscience, to stand any longer by Hastings. The business, he said, was too bad. Mr. Wilberforce, we are bound to add, fully believed that his friend was sincere, and that the suspicions to which this mysterious
10 affair gave rise were altogether unfounded.

§ 178. Those suspicions, indeed, were such as it is painful to mention. The friends of Hastings, most of whom, it is to be observed, generally supported the administration, affirmed that the motive of Pitt and Dundas
15 was jealousy. Hastings was personally a favourite with the King. He was the idol of the East India Company and of its servants. If he were absolved by the Commons, seated among the Lords, admitted to the Board of Control, closely allied with the strong-minded and
20 imperious Thurlow, was it not almost certain that he would soon draw to himself the entire management of Eastern affairs? Was it not possible that he might become a formidable rival in the cabinet? It had probably got abroad that very singular communications had
25 taken place between Thurlow and Major Scott, and that, if the First Lord of the Treasury was afraid to recommend Hastings for a peerage, the Chancellor was ready to take the responsibility of that step on himself. Of all ministers, Pitt was the least likely to submit with
30 patience to such an encroachment on his functions. If the Commons impeached Hastings, all danger was at an end. The proceeding, however it might terminate, would probably last some years. In the meantime, the accused person would be excluded from honours and
35 public employments, and could scarcely venture even to

pay his duty at court. Such were the motives attributed by a great part of the public to the young minister, whose ruling passion was generally believed to be avarice of power.

§ 179. The prorogation soon interrupted the discussions respecting Hastings. In the following year those discussions were resumed. The charge touching the spoliation of the Begums was brought forward by Sheridan, in a speech which was so imperfectly reported that it may be said to be wholly lost, but which was, without doubt, the most elaborately brilliant of all the productions of his ingenious mind. The impression which it produced was such as has never been equalled. He sat down, not merely amidst cheering, but amidst the loud clapping of hands, in which the Lords below the bar and the strangers in the gallery joined. The excitement of the House was such that no other speaker could obtain a hearing; and the debate was adjourned. The ferment spread fast through the town. Within four-and-twenty hours, Sheridan was offered a thousand pounds for the copyright of the speech, if he would himself correct it for the press. The impression made by this remarkable display of eloquence on severe and experienced critics, whose discernment may be supposed to have been quickened by emulation, was deep and permanent. Mr. Windham, twenty years later, said that the speech deserved all its fame, and was, in spite of some faults of taste, such as were seldom wanting either in the literary or in the parliamentary performances of Sheridan, the finest that had been delivered within the memory of man. Mr. Fox, about the same time, being asked by the late Lord Holland what was the best speech ever made in the House of Commons, assigned the first place, without hesitation, to the great oration of Sheridan on the Oude charge.

§ 180. When the debate was resumed, the tide ran so strongly against the accused that his friends were coughed and scraped down. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion; and the question was carried by a hundred and
5 seventy-five votes against sixty-eight.

§ 181. The Opposition, flushed with victory and strongly supported by the public sympathy, proceeded to bring forward a succession of charges relating chiefly to pecuniary transactions. The friends of Hastings were
10 discouraged, and having now no hope of being able to avert an impeachment, were not very strenuous in their exertions. At length the House, having agreed to twenty articles of charge, directed Burke to go before the Lords, and to impeach the late Governor-General of High
15 Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hastings was at the same time arrested by the Serjeant-at-arms, and carried to the bar of the Peers.

§ 182. The session was now within ten days of its close. It was, therefore, impossible that any progress
20 could be made in the trial till the next year. Hastings was admitted to bail; and further proceedings were postponed till the Houses should re-assemble.

§ 183. When Parliament met in the following winter, the Commons proceeded to elect a committee for
25 managing the impeachment. Burke stood at the head; and with him were associated most of the leading members of the Opposition. But when the name of Francis was read a fierce contention arose. It was said that Francis and Hastings were notoriously on bad terms,
30 that they had been at feud during many years, that on one occasion their mutual aversion had impelled them to seek each other's lives, and that it would be improper and indelicate to select a private enemy to be a public accuser. It was urged on the other side with great force,
35 particularly by Mr. Windham, that impartiality, though

the first duty of a judge, had never been reckoned among the qualities of an advocate; that in the ordinary administration of criminal justice among the English, the aggrieved party, the very last person who ought to be admitted into the jury-box, is the prosecutor; that what was wanted in a manager was, not that he should be free from bias, but that he should be able, well informed, energetic, and active. The ability and information of Francis were admitted; and the very animosity with which he was reproached, whether a virtue or a vice, was at least a pledge for his energy and activity. It seems difficult to refute these arguments. But the inveterate hatred borne by Francis to Hastings had excited general disgust. The house decided that Francis should not be a manager. Pitt voted with the majority, Dundas with the minority.

§ 184. In the meantime, the preparations for the trial had proceeded rapidly; and on the 13th of February, 1788, the sittings of the Court commenced. There have been spectacles more dazzling to the eye, more gorgeous with jewellery and cloth of gold, more attractive to grown-up children, than that which was then exhibited at Westminster; but, perhaps, there never was a spectacle so well calculated to strike a highly cultivated, a reflecting, an imaginative mind. All the various kinds of interest which belong to the near and to the distant, to the present and to the past, were collected on one spot, and in one hour. All the talents and all the accomplishments which are developed by liberty and civilization were now displayed, with every advantage that could be derived both from co-operation and from contrast. Every step in the proceedings carried the mind either backward, through many troubled centuries, to the days when the foundations of our constitution were laid; or far away, over boundless seas and deserts, to dusky

nations living under strange stars, worshipping strange gods, and writing strange characters from right to left. The High Court of Parliament was to sit, according to forms handed down from the days of the Plantagenets, 5 on an Englishman accused of exercising tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares, and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude.

§ 185. The place was worthy of such a trial. It was the great hall of William Rufus, the hall which had 10 resounded with acclamations at the inauguration of thirty kings, the hall which had witnessed the just sentence of Bacon and the just absolution of Somers, the hall where the eloquence of Strafford had for a moment awed and melted a victorious party inflamed with just resentment, 15 the hall where Charles had confronted the High Court of Justice with the placid courage which has half redeemed his fame. Neither military nor civil pomp was wanting. The avenues were lined with grenadiers. The streets were kept clear by cavalry. The peers, 20 robed in gold and ermine, were marshalled by the heralds under Garter King-at-arms. The judges in their vestments of state attended to give advice on points of law. Near a hundred and seventy lords, three-fourths of the Upper House as the Upper House then was, 25 walked in solemn order from their usual place of assembling to the tribunal. The junior Baron present led the way, George Eliott, Lord Heathfield, recently ennobled for his memorable defence of Gibraltar against the fleets and armies of France and Spain. The long procession 30 was closed by the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of the realm, by the great dignitaries, and by the brothers and sons of the King. Last of all came the Prince of Wales, conspicuous by his fine person and noble bearing. The gray old walls were hung with scarlet. The long galleries 35 were crowded by an audience such as has rarely excited

the fears or the emulation of an orator. There were gathered together, from all parts of a great, free, enlightened, and prosperous empire, grace and female loveliness, wit and learning, the representatives of every science and of every art. There were seated round the Queen the fair-haired young daughters of the house of Brunswick. There the Ambassadors of great Kings and Commonwealths gazed with admiration on a spectacle which no other country in the world could present. There Siddons, in the prime of her majestic beauty, looked with emotion on a scene surpassing all the imitations of the stage. There the historian of the Roman empire thought of the days when Cicero pleaded the cause of Sicily against Verres, and when, before a senate which still retained some show of freedom, Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa. There were seen, side by side, the greatest painter and the greatest scholar of the age. The spectacle had allured Reynolds from that easel which has preserved to us the thoughtful foreheads of so many writers and statesmen, and the sweet smiles of so many noble matrons. It had induced Parr to suspend his labours in that dark and profound mine from which he had extracted a vast treasure of erudition, a treasure too often buried in the earth, too often paraded with injudicious and inelegant ostentation, but still precious, massive, and splendid. There appeared the voluptuous charms of her to whom the heir of the throne had in secret plighted his faith. There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race, the Saint Cecilia whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from the common decay. There were the members of that brilliant society which quoted, criticized, and exchanged repartees, under the rich peacock-hangings of Mrs. Montague. And there the ladies whose lips, more persuasive than those of Fox himself, had carried the

Westminster election against palace and treasury, shone round Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire.

§ 186. The Serjeants made proclamation. Hastings advanced to the bar, and bent his knee. The culprit
5 was indeed not unworthy of that great presence. He had ruled an extensive and populous country, had made laws and treaties, had sent forth armies, had set up and pulled down princes. And in his high place he had so borne himself, that all had feared him, that most had
10 loved him, and that hatred itself could deny him no title to glory, except virtue. He looked like a great man, and not like a bad man. A person small and emaciated, yet deriving dignity from a carriage which, while it indicated deference to the court, indicated also habitual self-
15 possession and self-respect, a high and intellectual forehead, a brow pensive, but not gloomy, a mouth of inflexible decision, a face pale and worn, but serene, on which was written, as legibly as under the picture in the council-chamber at Calcutta, *Mens æqua in arduis*; such
20 was the aspect with which the great Proconsul presented himself to his judges.

§ 187. His counsel accompanied him, men all of whom were afterwards raised by their talents and learning to the highest posts in their profession, the bold and strong-
25 minded Law, afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench; the more humane and eloquent Dallas, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and Plomer, who, near twenty years later, successfully conducted in the same high court the defence of Lord Melville, and
30 subsequently became Vice-chancellor and Master of the Rolls.

§ 188. But neither the culprit nor his advocates attracted so much notice as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up
35 with green benches and tables for the Commons. The

managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and sword. Pitt had refused to be one of the conductors of the impeachment, and his commanding, copious, and sonorous eloquence was wanting to that great muster of various talents. Age and blindness had unfitted Lord North for the duties of a public prosecutor; and his friends were left without the help of his excellent sense, his tact, and his urbanity. But, in spite of the absence of these two distinguished members of the Lower House, the box in which the managers stood contained an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern. There, with eyes reverentially fixed on Burke, appeared the finest gentleman of the age, his form developed by every manly exercise, his face beaming with intelligence and spirit, the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham. Nor, though surrounded by such men, did the youngest manager pass unnoticed. At an age when most of those who distinguish themselves in life are still contending for prizes and fellowships at college, he had won for himself a conspicuous place in parliament. No advantage of fortune or connection was wanting that could set off to the height his splendid talents and his unblemished honour. At twenty-three he had been thought worthy to be ranked with the veteran statesmen who appeared as the delegates of the British

Commons, at the bar of the British nobility. All who stood at that bar, save him alone, are gone, culprit, advocates, accusers. To the generation which is now in the vigour of life, he is the sole representative of a great
5 age which has passed away. But those who, within the last ten years, have listened with delight, till the morning sun shone on the tapestries of the House of Lords, to the lofty and animated eloquence of Charles Earl Grey, are able to form some estimate of the powers of a race of men
10 among whom he was not the foremost.

§ 189. The charges and the answers of Hastings were first read. The ceremony occupied two whole days, and was rendered less tedious than it would otherwise have been by the silver voice and just emphasis of Cowper,
15 the clerk of the court, a near relation of the amiable poet. On the third day Burke rose. Four sittings were occupied by his opening speech, which was intended to be a general introduction to all the charges. With an exuberance of thought and a splendour of diction which
20 more than satisfied the highly raised expectation of the audience, he described the character and institutions of the natives of India, recounted the circumstances in which the Asiatic empire of Britain had originated, and set forth the constitution of the Company and of the
25 English Presidencies. Having thus attempted to communicate to his hearers an idea of Eastern society, as vivid as that which existed in his own mind, he proceeded to arraign the administration of Hastings as systematically conducted in defiance of morality and
30 public law. The energy and pathos of the great orator extorted expressions of unwonted admiration from the stern and hostile Chancellor, and, for a moment, seemed to pierce even the resolute heart of the defendant. The ladies in the galleries, unaccustomed to
35 such displays of eloquence, excited by the solemnity of

the occasion, and perhaps not unwilling to display their taste and sensibility, were in a state of uncontrollable emotion. Handkerchiefs were pulled out; smelling-bottles were handed round; hysterical sobs and screams were heard: and Mrs. Sheridan was carried out in a fit. At length the orator concluded. Raising his voice till the old arches of Irish oak resounded, "Therefore", said he, "hath it with all confidence been ordered by the Commons of Great Britain, that I impeach Warren Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours. I impeach 10 him in the name of the Commons' House of Parliament, whose trust he has betrayed. I impeach him in the name of the English nation, whose ancient honour he has sullied. I impeach him in the name of the people of India, whose rights he has trodden under foot, and 15 whose country he has turned into a desert. Lastly, in the name of human nature itself, in the name of both sexes, in the name of every age, in the name of every rank, I impeach the common enemy and oppressor of all!"

§ 190. When the deep murmur of various emotions had 20 subsided, Mr. Fox rose to address the Lords respecting the course of proceeding to be followed. The wish of the accusers was that the Court would bring to a close the investigation of the first charge before the second was opened. The wish of Hastings and of his counsel was 25 that the managers should open all the charges, and produce all the evidence for the prosecution, before the defence began. The Lords retired to their own House to consider the question. The Chancellor took the side of Hastings. Lord Loughborough, who was now in 30 opposition, supported the demand of the managers. The division showed which way the inclination of the tribunal leaned. A majority of near three to one decided in favour of the course for which Hastings contended.

§ 191. When the Court sat again, Mr. Fox, assisted by 35

Mr. Grey, opened the charge respecting Cheyte Sing, and several days were spent in reading papers and hearing witnesses. The next article was that relating to the Princesses of Oude. The conduct of this part of the case
5 was entrusted to Sheridan. The curiosity of the public to hear him was unbounded. His sparkling and highly finished declamation lasted two days; but the Hall was crowded to suffocation during the whole time. It was said that fifty guineas had been paid for a single ticket.
10 Sheridan, when he concluded, contrived, with a knowledge of stage effect which his father might have envied, to sink back, as if exhausted, into the arms of Burke, who hugged him with the energy of generous admiration.

§ 192. June was now far advanced. The session
15 could not last much longer; and the progress which had been made in the impeachment was not very satisfactory. There were twenty charges. On two only of these had even the case for the prosecution been heard; and it was now a year since Hastings had been admitted to bail.

20 § 193. The interest taken by the public in the trial was great when the Court began to sit, and rose to the height when Sheridan spoke on the charge relating to the Begums. From that time the excitement went down fast. The spectacle had lost the attraction of novelty. The
25 great displays of rhetoric were over. What was behind was not of a nature to entice men of letters from their books in the morning, or to tempt ladies who had left the masquerade at two to be out of bed before eight. There remained examinations and cross-examinations.
30 There remained statements of accounts. There remained the reading of papers, filled with words unintelligible to English ears, with lacs and crores, zemindars and aumils, sunnuds and perwannahs, jaghires and nuzzurs. There remained bickerings, not always carried on with the best
35 taste or with the best temper, between the managers of

the impeachment and the counsel for the defence, particularly between Mr. Burke and Mr. Law. There remained the endless marches and countermarches of the Peers between their House and the Hall: for as often as a point of law was to be discussed, their Lordships retired to discuss it apart; and the consequence was, as a Peer wittily said, that the judges walked and the trial stood still.

§ 194. It is to be added that, in the spring of 1788, when the trial commenced, no important question, either of domestic or foreign policy, occupied the public mind. The proceeding in Westminster Hall, therefore, naturally attracted most of the attention of Parliament and of the country. It was the one great event of that season. But in the following year the King's illness, the debates on the Regency, the expectation of a change of ministry, completely diverted public attention from Indian affairs; and within a fortnight after George the Third had returned thanks in St. Paul's for his recovery, the States-General of France met at Versailles. In the midst of the agitation produced by these events, the impeachment was for a time almost forgotten.

§ 195. The trial in the Hall went on languidly. In the session of 1788, when the proceedings had the interest of novelty, and when the Peers had little other business before them, only thirty-five days were given to the impeachment. In 1789, the Regency Bill occupied the Upper House till the session was far advanced. When the King recovered, the circuits were beginning. The judges left town; the Lords waited for the return of the oracles of jurisprudence; and the consequence was that during the whole year only seventeen days were given to the case of Hastings. It was clear that the matter would be protracted to a length unprecedented in the annals of criminal law.

- § 196. In truth, it is impossible to deny that impeachment, though it is a fine ceremony, and though it may have been useful in the seventeenth century, is not a proceeding from which much good can now be expected.
- 5 Whatever confidence may be placed in the decision of the Peers on an appeal arising out of ordinary litigation, it is certain that no man has the least confidence in their impartiality, when a great public functionary, charged with a great state crime, is brought to their bar. They
- 10 are all politicians. There is hardly one among them whose vote on an impeachment may not be confidently predicted before a witness has been examined; and, even if it were possible to rely on their justice, they would still be quite unfit to try such a cause as that of Hastings.
- 15 They sit only during half the year. They have to transact much legislative and much judicial business. The law-lords, whose advice is required to guide the unlearned majority, are employed daily in administering justice elsewhere. It is impossible, therefore, that during a
- 20 busy session, the Upper House should give more than a few days to an impeachment. To expect that their Lordships would give up partridge-shooting, in order to bring the greatest delinquent to speedy justice, or to relieve accused innocence by speedy acquittal, would be
- 25 unreasonable indeed. A well-constituted tribunal, sitting regularly six days in the week, and nine hours in the day, would have brought the trial of Hastings to a close in less than three months. The Lords had not finished their work in seven years.
- 30 § 197. The result ceased to be matter of doubt, from the time when the Lords resolved that they would be guided by the rules of evidence which are received in the inferior courts of the realm. Those rules, it is well known, exclude much information which would be quite
- 35 sufficient to determine the conduct of any reasonable

man, in the most important transactions of private life. These rules, at every assizes, save scores of culprits whom judges, jury, and spectators firmly believe to be guilty. But when those rules were rigidly applied to offences committed many years before, at the distance of many 5 thousands of miles, conviction was, of course, out of the question. We do not blame the accused and his counsel for availing themselves of every legal advantage in order to obtain an acquittal. But it is clear that an acquittal so obtained cannot be pleaded in bar of the judgment 10 of history.

§ 198. Several attempts were made by the friends of Hastings to put a stop to the trial. In 1789 they proposed a vote of censure upon Burke, for some violent language which he had used respecting the death of 15 Nuncomar and the connection between Hastings and Impey. Burke was then unpopular in the last degree both with the House and with the country. The asperity and indecency of some expressions which he had used during the debates on the Regency had annoyed even 20 his warmest friends. The vote of censure was carried; and those who had moved it hoped that the managers would resign in disgust. Burke was deeply hurt. But his zeal for what he considered as the cause of justice and mercy triumphed over his personal feelings. He 25 received the censure of the House with dignity and meekness, and declared that no personal mortification or humiliation should induce him to flinch from the sacred duty which he had undertaken.

§ 199. In the following year the Parliament was 30 dissolved; and the friends of Hastings entertained a hope that the new House of Commons might not be disposed to go on with the impeachment. They began by maintaining that the whole proceeding was terminated by the dissolution. Defeated on this point, they made a direct 35

motion that the impeachment should be dropped; but they were defeated by the combined forces of the Government and the Opposition. It was, however, resolved that, for the sake of expedition, many of the 5 articles should be withdrawn. In truth, had not some such measure been adopted, the trial would have lasted till the defendant was in his grave.

§ 200. At length, in the spring of 1795, the decision was pronounced, near eight years after Hastings had been 10 brought by the Serjeant-at-arms of the Commons to the bar of the Lords. On the last day of this great procedure the public curiosity, long suspended, seemed to be revived. Anxiety about the judgment there could be none, for it had been fully ascertained that there was 15 a great majority for the defendant. Nevertheless many wished to see the pageant, and the Hall was as much crowded as on the first day. But those who, having been present on the first day, now bore a part in the proceedings of the last, were few; and most of those few 20 were altered men.

§ 201. As Hastings himself said, the arraignment had taken place before one generation, and the judgment was pronounced by another. The spectator could not look at the woolsack, or at the red benches of the Peers, or at 25 the green benches of the Commons, without seeing something that reminded him of the instability of all human things, of the instability of power and fame and life, of the more lamentable instability of friendship. The great seal was borne before Lord Loughborough, who, when 30 the trial commenced, was a fierce opponent of Mr. Pitt's government, and who was now a member of that government, while Thurlow, who presided in the court when it first sat, estranged from all his old allies, sat scowling among the junior barons. Of about a hundred and 35 sixty nobles who walked in the procession on the first

day, sixty had been laid in their family vaults. Still more affecting must have been the sight of the managers' box. What had become of that fair fellowship, so closely bound together by public and private ties, so resplendent with every talent and accomplishment? It had been scattered ⁵ by calamities more bitter than the bitterness of death. The great chiefs were still living, and still in the full vigour of their genius. But their friendship was at an end. It had been violently and publicly dissolved, with tears and stormy reproaches. If those men, once so ¹⁰ dear to each other, were now compelled to meet for the purpose of managing the impeachment, they met as strangers whom public business had brought together, and behaved to each other with cold and distant civility. Burke had in his vortex whirled away Windham. Fox ¹⁵ had been followed by Sheridan and Grey.

§ 202. Only twenty-nine Peers voted. Of these only six found Hastings guilty on the charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums. On other charges, the majority in his favour was still greater. On some he was ²⁰ unanimously absolved. He was then called to the bar, was informed from the woolsack that the Lords had acquitted him, and was solemnly discharged. He bowed respectfully and retired.

§ 203. We have said that the decision had been fully ²⁵ expected. It was also generally approved. At the commencement of the trial there had been a strong and indeed unreasonable feeling against Hastings. At the close of the trial there was a feeling equally strong and equally unreasonable in his favour. One cause of the ³⁰ change was, no doubt, what is commonly called the fickleness of the multitude, but what seems to us to be merely the general law of human nature. Both in individuals and in masses violent excitement is always followed by remission, and often by reaction. We are ³⁵

all inclined to depreciate whatever we have overpraised, and, on the other hand, to show undue indulgence where we have shown undue rigour. It was thus in the case of Hastings. The length of his trial, moreover, made him
5 an object of compassion. It was thought, and not without reason, that, even if he was guilty, he was still an ill-used man, and that an impeachment of eight years was more than a sufficient punishment. It was also felt that, though in the ordinary course of criminal law a
10 defendant is not allowed to set off his good actions against his crimes, a great political cause should be tried on different principles, and that a man who had governed an empire during thirteen years might have done some very reprehensible things, and yet might be on the whole
15 deserving of rewards and honours rather than of fine and imprisonment. The press, an instrument neglected by the prosecutors, was used by Hastings and his friends with great effect. Every ship, too, that arrived from Madras or Bengal brought a cuddy full of his admirers.
20 Every gentleman from India spoke of the late Governor-General as having deserved better, and having been treated worse, than any man living. The effect of this testimony, unanimously given by all persons who knew the East, was naturally very great. Retired members of
25 the Indian services, civil and military, were settled in all corners of the kingdom. Each of them was, of course, in his own little circle, regarded as an oracle on an Indian question; and they were, with scarcely one exception, the zealous advocates of Hastings. It is to be
30 added, that the numerous addresses to the late Governor-General, which his friends in Bengal obtained from the natives and transmitted to England, made a considerable impression. To these addresses we attach little or no importance. That Hastings was beloved by the people
35 whom he governed is true; but the eulogies of pundits,

zemindars, Mahommedan doctors, do not prove it to be true. For an English collector or judge would have found it easy to induce any native who could write to sign a panegyric on the most odious ruler that ever was in India. It was said that at Benares, the very place at which the acts set forth in the first article of impeachment had been committed, the natives had erected a temple to Hastings; and this story excited a strong sensation in England. Burke's observations on the apotheosis were admirable. He saw no reason for astonishment, he said, in the incident which had been represented as so striking. He knew something of the mythology of the Brahmins. He knew that as they worshipped some gods from love, so they worshipped others from fear. He knew that they erected shrines, not only to the benignant deities of light and plenty, but also to the fiends who preside over smallpox and murder; nor did he at all dispute the claim of Mr. Hastings to be admitted into such a Pantheon. This reply has always struck us as one of the finest that ever was made in Parliament. It is a grave and forcible argument, decorated by the most brilliant wit and fancy.

§ 204. Hastings was, however, safe. But in everything, except character, he would have been far better off if, when first impeached, he had at once pleaded guilty, and paid a fine of fifty thousand pounds. He was a ruined man. The legal expenses of his defence had been enormous. The expenses which did not appear in his attorney's bill were perhaps larger still. Great sums had been paid to Major Scott. Great sums had been laid out in bribing newspapers, rewarding pamphleteers, and circulating tracts. Burke, so early as 1790, declared in the House of Commons that twenty thousand pounds had been employed in corrupting the press. It is certain that no controversial weapon, from the gravest reasoning

to the coarsest ribaldry, was left unemployed. Logar defended the accused Governor with great ability in prose. For the lovers of verse, the speeches of the managers were burlesqued in Simpkin's letters. It is, we are afraid, indisputable that Hastings stooped so low as to court the aid of that malignant and filthy baboon John Williams, who called himself Anthony Pasquin. It was necessary to subsidize such allies largely. The private hoards of Mrs. Hastings had disappeared. It is said that the banker to whom they had been entrusted had failed. Still, if Hastings had practised strict economy, he would, after all his losses, have had a moderate competence; but in the management of his private affairs he was imprudent. The dearest wish of his heart had always been to regain Daylesford. At length, in the very year in which his trial commenced, the wish was accomplished; and the domain, alienated more than seventy years before, returned to the descendant of its old lords. But the manor-house was a ruin; and the grounds round it had, during many years, been utterly neglected. Hastings proceeded to build, to plant, to form a sheet of water, to excavate a grotto; and, before he was dismissed from the bar of the House of Lords, he had expended more than forty thousand pounds in adorning his seat.

§ 205. The general feeling both of the Directors and of the proprietors of the East India Company was that he had great claims on them, that his services to them had been eminent, and that his misfortunes had been the effect of his zeal for their interest. His friends in Leadenhall Street proposed to reimburse him the costs of his trial, and to settle on him an annuity of five thousand pounds a year. But the consent of the Board of Control was necessary; and at the head of the Board of Control was Mr. Dundas, who had himself been a

party to the impeachment, who had, on that account, been reviled with great bitterness by the adherents of Hastings, and who, therefore, was not in a very complying mood. He refused to consent to what the Directors suggested. The Directors remonstrated. A long controversy followed. Hastings, in the meantime, was reduced to such distress that he could hardly pay his weekly bills. At length a compromise was made. An annuity for life of four thousand pounds was settled on Hastings; and in order to enable him to meet pressing demands, he was to receive ten years' annuity in advance. The Company was also permitted to lend him fifty thousand pounds, to be repaid by instalments without interest. This relief, though given in the most absurd manner, was sufficient to enable the retired Governor to live in comfort, and even in luxury, if he had been a skilful manager. But he was careless and profuse, and was more than once under the necessity of applying to the Company for assistance, which was liberally given.

§ 206. He had security and affluence, but not the power and dignity which, when he landed from India, he had reason to expect. He had then looked forward to a coronet, a red riband, a seat at the Council Board, an office at Whitehall. He was then only fifty-two, and might hope for many years of bodily and mental vigour. The case was widely different when he left the bar of the Lords. He was now too old a man to turn his mind to a new class of studies and duties. He had no chance of receiving any mark of royal favour while Mr. Pitt remained in power; and, when Mr. Pitt retired, Hastings was approaching his seventieth year.

§ 207. Once, and only once, after his acquittal, he interfered in politics; and that interference was not much to his honour. In 1804 he exerted himself strenuously to prevent Mr. Addington, against whom Fox and Pitt

had combined, from resigning the Treasury. It is difficult to believe that a man so able and energetic as Hastings can have thought that, when Bonaparte was at Boulogne with a great army, the defence of our island could safely be entrusted to a ministry which did not contain a single person whom flattery could describe as a great statesman. It is also certain that, on the important question which had raised Mr. Addington to power, and on which he differed from both Fox and Pitt, Hastings, as might have been expected, agreed with Fox and Pitt, and was decidedly opposed to Addington. Religious intolerance has never been the vice of the Indian service, and certainly was not the vice of Hastings. But Mr. Addington had treated him with marked favour. Fox had been a principal manager of the impeachment. To Pitt it was owing that there had been an impeachment; and Hastings, we fear, was on this occasion guided by personal considerations rather than by a regard to the public interest.

§ 208. The last twenty-four years of his life were chiefly passed at Daylesford. He amused himself with embellishing his grounds, riding fine Arab horses, fattening prize-cattle, and trying to rear Indian animals and vegetables in England. He sent for seeds of a very fine custard-apple, from the garden of what had once been his own villa, among the green hedgerows of Allipore. He tried also to naturalize in Worcestershire the delicious leechiee, almost the only fruit of Bengal which deserves to be regretted even amidst the plenty of Covent Garden. The Mogul emperors, in the time of their greatness, had in vain attempted to introduce into Hindostan the goat of the table-land of Thibet, whose down supplies the looms of Cashmere with the materials of the finest shawls. Hastings tried, with no better fortune, to rear a breed at Daylesford; nor does he seem to have succeeded better

with the cattle of Bootan, whose tails are in high esteem as the best fans for brushing away the mosquitoes.

§ 209. Literature divided his attention with his conservatories and his menagerie. He had always loved books, and they were now necessary to him. Though not a poet, in any high sense of the word, he wrote neat and polished lines with great facility, and was fond of exercising this talent. Indeed, if we must speak out, he seems to have been more of a Trissotin than was to be expected from the powers of his mind, and from the great part which he had played in life. We are assured in these Memoirs that the first thing which he did in the morning was to write a copy of verses. When the family and guests assembled, the poem made its appearance as regularly as the eggs and rolls; and Mr. Gleig requires us to believe that, if from any accident Hastings came to the breakfast-table without one of his charming performances in his hand, the omission was felt by all as a grievous disappointment. Tastes differ widely. For ourselves, we must say that, however good the breakfasts at Daylesford may have been—and we are assured that the tea was of the most aromatic flavour, and that neither tongue nor venison-pasty was wanting,—we should have thought the reckoning high if we had been forced to earn our repast by listening every day to a new madrigal or sonnet composed by our host. We are glad, however, that Mr. Gleig has preserved this little feature of character, though we think it by no means a beauty. It is good to be often reminded of the inconsistency of human nature, and to learn to look without wonder or disgust on the weaknesses which are found in the strongest minds. Dionysius in old times, Frederic in the last century, with capacity and vigour equal to the conduct of the greatest affairs, united all the little vanities and affectations of provincial blue-stockings. These great examples may

console the admirers of Hastings for the affliction of seeing him reduced to the level of the Hayleys and Searwards.

§ 210. When Hastings had passed many years in retirement, and had long outlived the common age of men, he again became for a short time an object of general attention. In 1813 the charter of the East India Company was renewed; and much discussion about Indian affairs took place in Parliament. It was determined to examine witnesses at the bar of the Commons; and Hastings was ordered to attend. He had appeared at that bar once before. It was when he read his answer to the charges which Burke had laid on the table. Since that time twenty-seven years had elapsed; public feeling had undergone a complete change; the nation had now forgotten his faults, and remembered only his services. The reappearance, too, of a man who had been among the most distinguished of a generation that had passed away, who now belonged to history, and who seemed to have risen from the dead, could not but produce a solemn and pathetic effect. The Commons received him with acclamations, ordered a chair to be set for him, and, when he retired, rose and uncovered. There were, indeed, a few who did not sympathize with the general feeling. One or two of the managers of the impeachment were present. They sate in the same seats which they had occupied when they had been thanked for the services which they had rendered in Westminster Hall: for, by the courtesy of the House, a member who has been thanked in his place is considered as having a right always to occupy that place. These gentlemen were not disposed to admit that they had employed several of the best years of their lives in persecuting an innocent man. They accordingly kept their seats, and pulled their hats over their brows; but the exceptions only made the

prevailing enthusiasm more remarkable. The Lords received the old man with similar tokens of respect. The University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws; and in the Sheldonian Theatre, the undergraduates welcomed him with tumultuous cheering.

§ 211. These marks of public esteem were soon followed by marks of royal favour. Hastings was sworn of the Privy Council, and was admitted to a long private audience of the Prince Regent, who treated him very graciously. When the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia visited England, Hastings appeared in their train both at Oxford and in the Guildhall of London, and, though surrounded by a crowd of princes and great warriors, was everywhere received with marks of respect and admiration. He was presented by the Prince Regent both to Alexander and to Frederic William; and his Royal Highness went so far as to declare in public that honours far higher than a seat in the Privy Council were due, and would soon be paid, to the man who had saved the British dominions in Asia. Hastings now confidently expected a peerage; but, from some unexplained cause, he was again disappointed.

§ 212. He lived about four years longer, in the enjoyment of good spirits, of faculties not impaired to any painful or degrading extent, and of health such as is rarely enjoyed by those who attain such an age. At length, on the twenty-second of August, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, he met death with the same tranquil and decorous fortitude which he had opposed to all the trials of his various and eventful life.

§ 213. With all his faults—and they were neither few nor small—only one cemetery was worthy to contain his remains. In that temple of silence and reconciliation where the enmities of twenty generations lie buried, in

the Great Abbey which has during many ages afforded a quiet resting-place to those whose minds and bodies have been shattered by the contentions of the Great Hall, the dust of the illustrious accused should have mingled
5 with the dust of the illustrious accusers. This was not to be. Yet the place of interment was not ill chosen. Behind the chancel of the parish church of Daylesford, in earth which already held the bones of many chiefs of the house of Hastings, was laid the coffin of the greatest
10 man who has ever borne that ancient and widely extended name. On that very spot probably, fourscore years before, the little Warren, meanly clad and scantily fed, had played with the children of ploughmen. Even then his young mind had revolved plans which might be called
15 romantic. Yet, however romantic, it is not likely that they had been so strange as the truth. Not only had the poor orphan retrieved the fallen fortunes of his line. Not only had he repurchased the old lands, and rebuilt the old dwelling. He had preserved and extended an
20 empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo. He had been attacked by the most formidable combination of enemies that
25 ever sought the destruction of a single victim; and over that combination, after a struggle of ten years, he had triumphed. He had at length gone down to his grave in the fulness of age, in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy.

30 § 214. Those who look on his character without favour or malevolence will pronounce that, in the two great elements of all social virtue, in respect for the rights of others, and in sympathy for the sufferings of others, he was deficient. His principles were somewhat lax. His
35 heart was somewhat hard. But though we cannot with

truth describe him either as a righteous or as a merciful ruler, we cannot regard without admiration the amplitude and fertility of his intellect, his rare talents for command, for administration, and for controversy, his dauntless courage, his honourable poverty, his fervent zeal for the 5 interests of the state, his noble equanimity, tried by both extremes of fortune, and never disturbed by either.

NOTES

§ 1

Rev. G. R. Gleig (1796-1888) served in the Peninsular and American Wars, and subsequently entered the church, becoming ultimately Chaplain-General of the Forces. He wrote a *History of India, Lives of Military Commanders, Life of Sir Thomas Munro, Life of Lord Clive, &c.* His *Life of Warren Hastings* was condemned severely, but deservedly, by Macaulay, as consisting of "three big bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric". The paragraphs containing the censures on Gleig were suppressed in the collected edition of Macaulay's *Essays*. See *Appendix*.

page 2, l. 1. young Lely, Sir Peter (1618-1680), a German portrait-painter, who settled in England in 1641. He painted the portraits of the ladies of Charles II's court, and the series, preserved at Hampton Court, is known as the Windsor Beauties. The special feature of his portraits is the languid dreamy expression of the eyes.

l. 7. curl-pated minions, a contemptuous expression for the Royalist dandies who wore their hair long and took a pride in 'love-locks'. The Puritans, on the other hand, were known as 'Roundheads' from their custom of close-cropping the head.

l. 9. go forth, appear in a portrait.

§ 2

l. 16. It has been affirmed, by Warren's grandfather, the rector of Daylesford.

l. 17. Danish sea-king, Hasting, who invaded England in 893. See Green's *Short History*, chapter i, section 6.

l. 23. the coronet of Pembroke. Lawrence, son of the third Baron Hastings, married the heiress of Aymer de Valence, and so became Earl of Pembroke in 1339.

l. 24. the renowned Chamberlain, William, Lord Hastings (1430-1483), who, for his services to the Yorkist party in the Wars of the Roses, was appointed by Edward IV to be Lord Chamberlain, &c. He was accused of treason by the Duke of Gloucester (after-

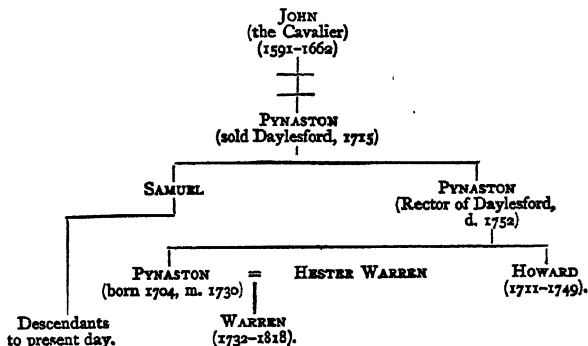
wards Richard III), imprisoned in the Tower, and executed. Sir Thomas More describes his fall, viewed from the historian's standpoint, while Shakespeare has, in his *Richard III*, depicted it with all his dramatic power.

1. 28. the earldom of Huntingdon became dormant in 1789 on the death of the tenth earl. A clergyman claimed the title on the ground of his descent from the second earl, but took no steps to establish his claim. He died in 1804, and his nephew and heir now claimed the peerage, but was unable from want of money to prove his right. He was then assisted in his researches by a legal antiquary, H. N. Bell, through whose exertions the claim was established in 1818. The 'romance' consisted in the incidents of Bell's investigation as described by him in his account of the Huntingdon Peerage—a narrative which "displays a suspicious luxuriance of imagination not altogether in keeping with what professed to be a grave genealogical treatise" (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

§ 3

1. 31. The lords of the manor. A manor (L. *manerium*, a residence, from *manere*, to remain) was a piece of land held by a lord or other great person, who occupied such part of it as was necessary for the use of his own family and establishment, and leased the remainder to tenants for stipulated rents or services.

1. 34. the Daylesford family. The immediate ancestors of Warren Hastings are given otherwise by Sir C. Lawson than by Gleig, whose account Macaulay follows.



page 3, l. 4. at Oxford, where Charles I kept his court in the Civil War.

1. 8. to **Speaker Lenthal**. Lenthal, Speaker of the Long Parliament (1640-1660), and one of Cromwell's peers in the Parliament of 1656, received the Yelford lands of the Hastings family in trust for the Parliament whose official representative he was.

1. 10. a merchant of London, Mr. Knight in 1715.

§ 4

1. 13. **presented**, the word used in the English Church for the nomination by a patron to a benefice.

1. 19. **utterly ruined**, so that he had to become curate of Churchill, a neighbouring parish.

1. 21. **Pynaston**, or Penyston, not a "boy", but at his marriage (according to information given to Sir C. Lawson) a man of twenty-six, in holy orders. The authority followed by Macaulay (Gleig) has been shown to be wrong in the particulars about the parentage of Warren Hastings. Penyston was the eldest son, not the second. He matriculated at Balliol College, Oxford, in 1724. In his marriage agreement with Hester Warren provision was made for moneys falling due to her being lodged in the hands of her brother. In a petition to the Chancery Court in 1733 by the guardian of Warren Hastings this agreement is referred to, and "the said Penyston Hastings having contracted many debts . . . had lately withdrawn himself from his habitation to some distant place, and left your Orator and Oratrix [Warren and his sister] wholly unregarded and unprovided for by him". The story of his going to the West Indies is not authenticated.

§ 5

1. 29. **the village school**. There is a dispute as to the village where Hastings was born and brought up. Churchill in Oxfordshire and Daylesford in Worcestershire, two parishes distant from each other five miles, are given by different writers. The fact that his grandfather had been forced to become curate of Churchill is considered by most writers to settle the question against Daylesford.

page 4, l. 1. **how kindly, &c.** "Warren aye took his larnin kindly", was their expression.

§ 6

1. 30. **Newington**, a district of London on the south side of the Thames, close to Lambeth.

1. 33. **Westminster School**, established in old monastic buildings beside the Abbey by Henry VIII, and endowed by Queen Elizabeth in 1560.

1. 34. **Vinny Bourne**. Vincent Bourne (1695-1747), a pupil

and afterwards a master in Westminster School, noted for his Latin poetry. Cowper spoke of his "love for the memory of Vinny Bourne", and thought highly of his Latin poetry, comparing it with Ovid's. Lamb wrote of him: "What a sweet, unpretending, pretty-mannered, matterful creature! sucking from every flower, making a flower of everything: his diction all Latin, and his thoughts all English".

page 5, l. 1. Churchill, Charles (1731-1764), the satirist, author of the *Rosciad*. He was a friend of both Garrick and Wilkes, to the latter of whom he rendered great service by his keen and vigorous satires.

Colman, George (1732-1794), the dramatist, author of *The Jealous Wife*, *Polly Honeycomb*, &c.

Lloyd, Robert, son of an usher in Westminster School, himself usher in the same school, author of a few minor poems of which the best is *The Actor*. He was "a clever, showy youth", and, in spite of his irregular life, a close friend of Cowper's. He died in 1764.

Cumberland, Richard (1732-1811), a dramatist and miscellaneous writer. His best comedies are *The West Indian* and *The Brothers*. There is a flattering description of him in Goldsmith's *Retaliation*.

Cowper, William (1731-1800), well known as the author of *The Task*, &c.

l. 11. the cloister of Westminster Abbey, which is close to the school. The cloister had to be passed through in going from the school-room to the College Hall.

refused to believe, &c.:

"Hastings! I knew thee young, and of a mind,
While young, humane, conversable, and kind;
Nor can I well believe thee—gentle *then*—
Now grown a villain, and the *worst* of men;
But rather some suspect, who have oppressed
And worried thee, as not themselves the *best*".

l. 14. rhyming among the water-lilies of the Ouse. Cowper resided at Olney on the Ouse from 1767 to 1800. In his poem *The Dog and the Lily* he writes:

"It was the time when Ouse displayed
His lilies newly blown;
Their beauties I intent surveyed,
And one I wished my own".

l. 16. His spirit had been tried. His Calvinistic creed and religious perplexities had driven him into such melancholy that he attempted suicide, and was for a time insane. One of the Calvinistic dogmas—the total depravity of human nature—is mentioned below.

§ 7

1. 29. **Elijah Impey** (1732-1809) went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1751, became a Fellow in 1757, was appointed Chief-Justice of Bengal in 1774, recalled in 1783, and impeached in 1788, but acquitted. His friendship with Hastings continued to the end.

Impey could not well have been a 'fag' to Hastings, as they were both of the same age, and a fag, in school slang, is a junior employed by a senior in rendering small services.

§ 8

page 6, l. 1. the foundation, the endowment for promising pupils that all important schools possess. 'The examination for the foundation' was one intended to test ability, so that the best pupils might obtain the scholarship or bursary which would maintain them wholly or partly during their school career. Hastings won the first King's scholarship in 1747, while Impey was fourth on the list."

1. 5. a studentship at Christ Church, a scholarship at the largest college in Oxford. It corresponds to a 'bursary' at the Scottish universities.

1. 7. **Howard Hastings** died in 1749, and left the bulk of a fairly large fortune in reversion to his nephew, Warren, who, however, never came into possession of it.

1. 17. wasted on hexameters, *i.e.* in the composition of Latin verse. The hexameter is a line of six feet used in heroic verse, the pentameter one of five feet, used alternately with the hexameter in elegiac poetry. The objection against such versifying has been repeated with much emphasis in our own time.

1. 18. a writership. The name is significant of the trading days of the East India Company. The 'writer' was merely a clerk. He might rise to be a factor, junior merchant, senior merchant, councillor, and finally president.

1. 20. shipped off, like a bale of goods. So Macaulay says of Clive, he was "shipped off to make a fortune or die of a fever".

1. 24. a commercial academy, a 'coaching' institution kept by Mr. Smith, writing master of Christ's Hospital.

§ 9

1. 31. **Fort William**, erected at Calcutta in 1696. The rajahs on the west bank of the Hooghly had risen against the Nabob of Bengal, who, being unable to defend himself, much less protect the foreign traders, allowed them to build a fort for their own defence. But no rights of government were conferred by this concession, and the East India Company continued to be, as hitherto, a trading corporation subject to the rule of the Mogul and his deputy the Nabob.

1. 32. the encroaching policy of Dupleix. Dupleix (1697-1763) had been so successful as manager of the French factory at Chandernagore (1730-1741) that he was appointed Governor of Pondicherry and Director-General of the French factories in India. He allied himself with native princes and took part in their wars so as to acquire commercial and territorial advantages. He saw the possibility of founding a European empire in India, and for this end tried to expel the English from the Carnatic. He met with considerable success in the first war (1744-1748), and in the second (1749-1754) till the tide was turned by Clive's capture of Arcot in 1751. Dupleix was recalled, and after nine years of poverty and disgrace died in 1763.

1. 35. The war of the succession. On the death of Nizam-al-Mulk in 1748 a dispute arose between his son, Nazir Jung, and his grandson, Mirzapha Jung, about the succession to his position as Viceroy of the Deccan. There was a similar dispute in the Carnatic, a subject province of the Deccan. The French favoured the pretenders, while the British supported the reigning princes. It was because the Europeans appeared merely as auxiliaries that there was war between French and British in the Presidency of Madras and yet peace in the Presidency of Bengal.

page 7, l. 1. the tide had been suddenly turned by Clive's masterly stroke of relieving Trichinopoly by taking and holding Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic (1751).

§ 10

1. 12. the prince. Aliverdy Khan, the first of his dynasty, became master of Bengal in 1740, and was acknowledged as Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa by the Mogul in 1750.

1. 13. the Mogul, the name commonly applied to the Emperor reigning at Delhi, from the fact that Baber, the founder of the dynasty by his conquest of Delhi in 1526, was descended on his mother's side from the Mongol (or Mogul) conqueror, Genghis Khan.

1. 24. Surajah Dowlah, grandson (or, according to Orme, grand-nephew) of Aliverdy Khan. He succeeded in April, 1756, seized Cossimbazar on 4th June, and Calcutta on 20th June.

1. 29. the Dutch Company had its chief factory at Chinsurah, 20 miles north of Calcutta.

1. 33. the Black Hole, the military prison in Calcutta into which the English prisoners, 146 in number, were thrust, and from which only 23 came out alive next morning.

§ 11

page 8, l. 6. a prisoner at large, restricted in his liberty of moving from place to place, but not closely confined.

l. 9. **The treason . . . progress.** The plot of Meer Jaffier, the commander of the Nabob's army; Roydullub, the Dewan, or minister of finance; and Jugget Seit, the banker. Their object was to put Meer Jaffier in the place of Surajah Dowlah, and in this they were assisted by Clive and the Council of Bengal acting through their agent, Mr. Watts.

§ 12

l. 16. **the expedition . . . Hoogley towards the end of December, 1756.**

l. 19. **the Commander of the Forces.** Clive was a 'writer' in the Company's service from 1744 till 1746, when the capture of Madras by the French compelled him to become a soldier. He was half civilian, half soldier till 1751, when he got a captain's commission, and immediately distinguished himself by the capture of Arcot.

l. 26. **the battle of Plassey, 23rd June, 1757.** It should be noted that while a sum of nearly £2,000,000 was divided among the English leaders as a reward for making Meer Jaffier Nabob, Hastings received nothing.

§ 13

l. 35. **Vansittart** had been promoted, on Clive's recommendation, from the Madras Presidency to be Governor of Bengal in 1760. He proved weak, and afterwards, on his return to England, joined the party of Clive's enemies. He was appointed one of the three Supervisors sent out in 1769 to remedy the disorder prevailing in Indian administration, but the vessel in which he sailed was never heard of after leaving the Cape.

page 9, l. 7. **which tasked . . . Clive.** During his administration from 1765 to 1767, Clive put down private trading among the civilians, and 'batta' or extra allowance in the army, but aroused so much hatred thereby that he was allowed no peace ever after.

l. 9. **The master caste.** Similarly, Macaulay, in the essay on *Clive*, speaks of the English as 'the hereditary nobility of mankind'. So Oliver Wendell Holmes, in *Elsie Venner*, calls the highest type of American youth 'the Brahmin caste of New England'.

l. 25. **dæmons, supernatural beings, spirits** (Gr. *daimones*): not necessarily evil spirits or devils.

l. 28. **at a later period, after 1784, when Pitt's India Act established the Board of Control.**

page 10, l. 3. **to buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall.** Chatham referred to this danger as an argument in favour of reform: "The riches of Asia have been poured in or upon us, and have brought with them not only Asiatic luxury, but, I fear, Asiatic principles of government. Without connections, without any natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their

way into Parliament by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune could resist." Cornwall is mentioned specially, because it had in pre-Reform days no fewer than forty-four members—that is, only one less than Scotland had. Clive was returned in 1754 for St. Michael, in Cornwall, but was unseated.

1. 4. St. James's Square, in the vicinity of the Royal Palace of St. James's, and then the most fashionable quarter of London.

1. 5. Of the conduct of Hastings, &c. More is known than Macaulay allows. Hastings opposed the policy pursued by the majority of the Council, under which the right was claimed of trading free from payment of duties. In a letter to the President (25th April, 1762) he says: "I beg to lay before you a grievance which loudly calls for redress, and will, unless duly attended to, render ineffectual any endeavours to create a firm or lasting harmony between the Nabob and the Company;—I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through the want of spirit in the Nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil is not confined to our dependants alone, but is practised all over the country by people falsely assuming the habits of our sepoys, or calling themselves our gomastahs. As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from making any resistance, so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents our having knowledge of the oppressions. . . . I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in places which I have passed, and on the river I do not believe I passed a boat without one. By whatever title they have been assumed, I am sure their frequency can bode no good to the Nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country, or the honour of our nation." When Meer Cossim in 1763, in self-defence, abolished all duties on the transit of goods, and so deprived the English of their unfair advantage, Hastings resisted the majority of the Council in their denunciations of the proceeding, and, getting into high words with a Mr. Batson, who grossly insulted him, he sent him a challenge, but the duel was stopped. He continued to disapprove of the policy of the Council, which led to the war of 1764 and the dethronement of Meer Cossim, and stated in a minute that he had been prevented from resigning only by the breaking out of the war.

Macaulay seems to have been misled by Gleig's statement (i. 131): "Of Mr. Hastings' *private life* I am unable, during this interesting period, to give any detailed account".

§ 14

1. 32. as a buccaneer . . . galleon, as a pirate would regard a treasure-ship. The buccaneers, or filibustering sea-rovers who infested the Spanish-American coasts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were so called from a Caribbean word 'boucan'.

meaning a barbecue or wooden frame for smoke-drying meat. The French hunters in St. Domingo prepared meat in this way, and hence were called *boucaniers*. Their plundering habits caused the word to be applied generally to the piratical sea-rovers.

§ 15

page 11, l. 6. his mismanagement. The statement rests on Gleig's account of conversations attributed to Hastings, "that he brought with him only a small portion of his savings to England, and that the bulk of them was left in Bengal on security which failed him". Gleig goes on to give what he considers conclusive evidence from a letter written by Sykes, a friend of Hastings, in Moorshedabad: "I hope our friend Hastings will before this have, by the interest of his friends, secured an appointment in the service. He has managed his cards very ill, and between you and me I never saw such confused accounts as he left behind him."

§ 16

l. 14. liberal studies, the studies befitting one not dependent on a profession or trade, such as literature and art. A 'liberal' education is opposed to a 'professional' or 'technical' education.

l. 20. new forms of intellectual enjoyment. The biographer's anxiety to free Hastings from the guilt of being an author is as great as any attributed by Macaulay to Horace Walpole. "If it be the purport of this remark that Mr. Hastings ever sought to turn his literary talents to a profitable account, the writer has quite misapprehended the truth of the case. I have the best authority for asserting that Mr. Hastings never printed or published any treatise, or poem, or essay, except at a pecuniary loss to himself." (Gleig i. 138.)

l. 29. the University of Oxford. "Not at Oxford, but in some seminary to be founded by the East India Company" (Gleig).

l. 34. Hafiz, the *nom-de-plume* of the greatest of Persian lyric writers. He was born at Shiraz, lived there during the greater part of the fourteenth century, and died there in 1388. From the sweetness of his poetry he was called *Chagarlab*, or Sugar-lip. He wrote songs dealing chiefly with flowers, wine, and women.

Ferdusi, or Firdausi, the *nom-de-plume* of the greatest of Persian poets. He was born in the tenth century near Tus in Khorassan, and spent twelve years at the court of Mahmoud of Ghazni. His great poem is the *Shah Nameh*, or Book of Kings, an epic history of Persia in 60,000 verses. For this he received 60,000 silver coins instead of gold coins which he had been promised by the king, and he left the court in disgust, leaving behind him a stinging satire on Mahmoud. The king, struck with remorse, sent the gold

to the poet at Tus, but the messenger brought it in at one gate as the poet's bier was being carried out at another.

page 12, l. 5. Long after, &c. On 30th March, 1774, Johnson wrote: "Though it is now a long time since I was honoured by your visit, I had too much pleasure from it to forget it". He sent with the letter a copy of Jones's *Persian Grammar*, and later in the same year a copy of his own *Journey to the Western Isles*.

§ 17

l. 13. the Directors. The Court of twenty-four elected by the proprietors of East India stock. Hastings applied to them before he had been a year in England, but for reasons unknown his services were declined (*Gentleman's Magazine*). The evidence he gave before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1766 is said by Gleig to have attracted the attention both of the Directors and of the Ministers.

l. 14. with high compliments: "A gentleman who has served us many years on the Bengal establishment with great ability and unblemished character"; "from a consideration of his just merits and general knowledge of the Company's affairs".

§ 18

l. 25. Imhoff, really a baron, "seventeenth in direct descent from a crusader of the name of Hoff, on whom a German emperor bestowed a coat of arms, and conferred the prefix of 'Im' in recognition of an act of great gallantry in the field" (Sir C. Lawson). He had been an officer in the army of a minor German state, and had secured the recommendation of Queen Charlotte for employment in the army.

l. 28. pagodas, gold coins worth from eight to nine shillings.

l. 30. his wife. She is described in a letter from Calcutt (1772) as "about twenty-six years old, has a good person and has been very pretty, and wants only to be a greater mistress of the English language to prove that she has a great share of wit". Imhoff had gone to Calcutta in 1770, she followed in 1771, and Hastings in 1772. In 1773 Imhoff went home; the divorce was obtained in 1777, and Hastings' marriage took place in August of that year.

l. 31. somewhere; in Raymond's note to his translation of the Mohammedan historian, Seer Mutakhareen.

page 14, l. 10. courts of Franconia. These courts admitted of divorce on the ground of incompatibility, and allowed the parties to marry again. Franconia was one of the four duchies of the old German kingdom; it included the basin of the Maine, and had Saxony on the north and Suabia on the south.

§ 20

1. 30. an important reform, with regard to the investments of the Company. He diminished the number and charges of middle-men who dealt with the weavers.

page 15, l. 1. accompanied him. See note on § 18.

§ 21

1. 6. a system . . . skilfully contrived, &c. Clive in his last Minute (16th January, 1767) before quitting Bengal, laid great stress on the maintenance of the phantom Nabob. "We are sensible that since the acquisition of the Dewannee, the power formerly belonging to the Subah of these provinces is totally, in fact, vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him but the name and shadow of authority. This name, however, this shadow, it is indispensably necessary we should seem to venerate. Under the sanction of a Subah every encroachment that may be attempted by foreign powers can effectually be crushed without any apparent interposition of our own authority, and all real grievances complained of by them can, through the same channel, be examined into and redressed. Be it therefore always remembered that there is a Subah, and that though the revenues belong to the Company, the territorial jurisdiction must still rest in the chiefs of the country, acting under him and this Presidency in conjunction. To appoint the Company's servants to the offices of collectors, or indeed to do any act by any exertion of the English power, which can equally be done by the Nabob at our instance, would be throwing off the mask, would be declaring the Company Subah of the provinces. Foreign nations would immediately take umbrage; and complaints preferred to the British Court might be attended with very embarrassing consequences. Nor can it be supposed that the French, Dutch, or Danes would readily acknowledge the Company's Subahship, and pay into the hands of their servants the duties upon trade, or the quit-rents of those districts which they may have long been possessed of by virtue of the royal firmans, or grants from former Nabobs."

§ 23

1. 27. Augustulus stood to Odoacer. Odoacer, son of one of Attila's officers, was the leader of the barbarian hordes which sacked Rome in 476. He expelled Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman Emperor of the West, though only a year before he had raised this titular sovereign to the throne. He allowed him to retire to the luxurious villa of Lucullus at Surrentum, and made himself King of Italy, with his capital at Ravenna. He was formally recognized by the Roman Emperor of the East as 'patrician' (or regent) of Italy, while he acknowledged the Emperor as his superior. He thus held the same position to the Emperor as the British to the

Mogul. He was attacked by Theodoric and the Ostrogoths, and after a war lasting five years (489-493) he was compelled to share his kingdom with his conqueror.

l. 27. **Merovingians, &c.** The first dynasty of the Franks, the Merovingians, was supplanted by their Mayors of the Palace. One of the latter, Pepin the Fat, made his nominal king prisoner, and ruled from 687 to 714. He was succeeded by his son, Charles Martel (*i.e.* the Hammer), who ruled till 741, but without assuming the name of king. His son, Pepin the Short, deposed the last of the Merovingians in 752, and thus began the rule of the Carolingians.

l. 33. **writer or cadet**, the humblest official in the civil and the military service respectively.

§ 24

page 16, l. 11. **This system, &c.** Pitt's East India Bill of 1784 established a Board of Control, which exercised government supervision over the Directors, who were representative of the Company. The Directors were thus reduced to the position of advisers, for which they were qualified by their experience, while the supreme power lay with the President of the Board of Control, who was practically a Secretary of State for India. The Council at Calcutta was a counterpart of the arrangement at home, the Governor having supreme power, while his councillors were merely advisers.

§ 25

l. 32. **"political"**, from Greek *polis*, a city or state, means properly 'relating to the state'. The British agents at native courts are still called 'political', though in ordinary language they would be called 'diplomatic', as their duties consist chiefly in negotiating and communicating instructions from the British Government.

§ 29

page 17, l. 35. **This man had played, &c.** He had been the governor of Hooghly for the Nabob in 1757, and had got orders from Surajah Dowlah to assist the French at Chandernagore against the English. He was, however, won over by Omichund by means of a bribe of 12,000 rupees (though his salary was 250,000 rupees), and he recalled the troops from Chandernagore when the English appeared. He was arrested in 1762 by Hastings on a charge of treason, and was confined at Calcutta, where the deposed Nabob, Meer Jaffier, was at this time. He so ingratiated himself with the latter, that on Jaffier's restoration to the throne in 1764 he was, at the urgent request of Jaffier, appointed to be his minister.

page 18, l. 4. **high and pure caste.** This has been denied by recent writers. Nor was he a hereditary noble, as the title 'Maharajah' might lead one to suppose.

l. 24. the Ionian of the time of Juvenal. *Græculus esuriens*, "the starveling Greek", is satirized for his pliancy and servility by Juvenal in *Satire III*.

the Jew of the dark ages was exposed to oppression and robbery (cf. Isaac of York in *Ivanhoe*), except where the king had taken these money-lenders under his own protection.

l. 27. beauty . . . is to woman. "Nature* has given to women beauty for shield and sword, and she who has beauty is victorious over arms and fire." The poem is attributed to Anacreon, the poet of wine and love.

l. 31. All those millions, &c. Macaulay here has improved on his own exaggeration in the essay on Clive: "We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company".

page 19, l. 7. the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage. The Stoical school of philosophy, founded by Zeno in the fourth century B.C., taught that the wise man was king over himself, and that external circumstances, such as poverty and pain, were things indifferent. Their 'ideal sage' was the man who was least moved by prosperity or adversity (not necessarily Zeno, though he realized, to some extent, his own ideal).

l. 15. Mucius Scaevola was threatened with torture for attempting to assassinate Lars Porsenna, who was trying to restore Tarquin to his throne at Rome (c. 500 B.C.). To show how lightly he regarded the threat, Scaevola thrust his right hand into the fire and held it there without flinching. The firmness of Scaevola moved Porsenna to pardon him. The story, as given by Livy, is probably nothing more than an attempt to explain the name Scaevola, 'left-handed', of a famous Roman family.

l. 16. Algernon Sidney (1621-1683), a republican accused of treason for his complicity in the Rye House plot, and executed on that charge. "He met death with an unconcernedness that became one who had set up Marcus Brutus for his pattern" (Burnett).

§ 30

l. 27. the French authorities in the Carnatic. French influence in the Carnatic was destroyed by the battle of Wandewash in 1760 and the capture of Pondicherry in 1761. Previous to that Lally at Pondicherry, and Bussy at Hyderabad, were formidable opponents to British supremacy.

§ 32

page 20, l. 15. The revenues of Bengal, &c. Clive in his speech of 30th March, 1772, explained the failure. "With regard to the increase of the expenses, I take the case to stand thus.

Before the Company became possessed of the Dewannee, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel—the channel of the civil and military charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill makes a fortune.”

l. 21. gold mohurs. The mohur was a coin worth about thirty shillings.

l. 27. Lords . . . city, who would presumably be experts in finance. The ‘city’ is the original London, in which are situated the Bank of England, the Royal Exchange, and all the great banking and commercial houses.

l. 30. increased dividend . . . finances. The dividend was raised from 6 per cent in 1766 till in 1771 it reached 12½ per cent. In 1769 Parliament exacted £400,000 a year for the continuance of the Company’s privileges for five years ensuing. In 1772 the finances of the Company were so bad that a loan of £600,000 had to be got from the Bank, and another of £1,500,000 authorized by Parliament.

page 21, l. 3. Leadenhall Street, in which were the offices of the East India Company.

l. 11. The vices of Nuncomar, &c. “You are too well apprised of the subtlety and disposition of Nuncomar to yield him any trust or authority which may be turned to his own advantage.” “No scrutable part of the Naib’s conduct can have escaped the watchful eye of his jealous and penetrating rival.”

§ 33

l. 17. The Governor . . . Nuncomar. Hastings wrote: “Nuncomar stands convicted of treason against the Company, . . . and I helped to convict him. The man never was a favourite of mine, and was engaged in doing me many ill offices for seven years together.” And again: “I was never the personal enemy of any man but Nuncomar, whom from my soul I detested even when I was compelled to countenance him.”

l. 19. a quarrel, in 1758, when Nuncomar was appointed collector of revenues within certain districts Hastings previously held. The correspondence on the subject between Clive and Hastings is given at length in Gleig, i. 62–68.

page 22, l. 2. Mussulman gravity . . . the will of God. The word ‘Mussulman’, like ‘Moslem’ and ‘salaam’, is from a word meaning submission, resignation to the will of God being a very striking feature of Mohammedanism.

l. 7. On that memorable day, in May, 1760. Schitab Roy had defended Patna against Shah Alum, who was assisted by a body of Frenchmen under M. Law, and he had been relieved by Captain

Knox, who made a forced march from Moorshedabad. But it was not the Mogul who was subsequently defeated in battle: it was the Rajah of Purneah, who was coming to his aid with an army of 12,000 men with 30 cannon. Knox had 200 Europeans, 300 horse, one battalion of sepoys, and five field-pieces, while Schitab Roy supplied another 300 men. The battle was seen from the walls of Patna by the Mussulman historian, the author of *Seer Mutakhareen*, who says: "When the day was far spent, a note came from Captain Knox, which mentioned that the enemy was defeated and flying. I went to the factory to compliment the gentlemen, when in the dusk of the evening Captain Knox himself crossed over, and came with Schitab Roy in his company. They were both covered with dust and sweat. The Captain then gave some detail of the battle, and paid the greatest encomiums on Schitab Roy's zeal, activity, and valour. He exclaimed several times, 'This is a real Nawab; I never saw such a Nawab in my life'."—Mill's *History of British India*, iii. 268, note.

§ 34

1. 31. annual allowance of £160,000, half the former allowance.

1. 35. the Munny Begum. She was originally a dancing girl, and had become a second wife or concubine of Meer Jaffier. The reason for her appointment is naively given in the Minute of Council (11th July, 1772): "She is said to have acquired a great ascendant over the spirit of the Nabob, being the only person of whom he stands in any kind of awe; a circumstance highly necessary for fulfilling the chief part of her duty, in directing his education and conduct, which appear to have been hitherto much neglected".

page 23, l. 6. the inoffensive child. Goordas, though 'in-offensive', was certainly not a mere 'child'.

§ 35

1. 21. died of a broken heart. Mill is the authority for the statement. He adds that Hastings in 1773 appointed Schitab Roy's son to an important post "from an entire conviction of the merits and faithful services, and in consideration of the late sufferings, of his deceased father".

§ 38

page 24, l. 11. The object . . . to get money. This was certainly one of the objects, but Macaulay is wrong in declaring it so bluntly to have been the only one.

1. 17. one of the great predatory families, the Cranstons, formerly lords of Teviotdale.

1. 23. The pressure, to meet the demands for the increased dividend and for the payment of £400,000 a year to Government.

page 25, l. 12. fifteen thousand miles, *i.e.* by the Cape route.

§ 39

1. 32. The Company had bound itself, &c., by Clive's treaty with Shah Alum in 1765. The Mahrattas, having got Shah Alum into their power in 1771, compelled him in 1772 to make over to them the districts of Corah and Allahabad. It was to prevent the danger of a Mahratta occupation—a very real one—that Hastings acted as he did. The cardinal point in his foreign policy was to strengthen Oude as a buffer-state between the Company's territories and the most formidable of their rival powers, the Mahrattas.

page 26, l. 13. still governed. Oude was annexed by the British in 1856. The annexation was one of the most important causes of the Mutiny, and Lucknow, the capital, was a chief centre of disaffection.

1. 18. impiety, the Mogul being their religious head.

1. 21. Vizier, *i.e.* Minister. 'Wazir' (Arabic) is originally a porter; one who bears a burden (of state affairs).

1. 22. Electors, so called from their having a right to *elect* the Emperor. There were seven, the one best known to the British being the Elector of Hanover.

1. 25. Sujah Dowlah had fought against the British, and been defeated at Buxar in 1764, but Clive won him over to be a faithful ally by granting him easy terms of peace. He died in 1775.

§ 41

page 27, l. 8. There is reason, &c. Philology has proved that Sanscrit is a member of the Aryan family of languages. The home of the Aryans is generally assumed to have been in the neighbourhood of the Hindu Kush Mountains—that is, beyond the Hyphasis (Sutlej) and the Hystaspes or Hydaspes (Jhelum).

1. 10. the rich and flexible Sanscrit. Sanscrit is, like Latin, a dead language and the mother of many modern dialects. It is exceptionally rich in inflexions.

1. 14. a succession of invaders. Mahmoud of Ghazni in 1001, Tamerlane in 1398, Baber in 1526, Nadir Shah in 1739, and Ahmed Abdali in 1761.

1. 18. Ghizni, captured by the British in July, 1839, in their first invasion of Afghanistan.

§ 42

1. 19. The Emperors of Hindostan, &c. Baber, the founder of the Mogul Empire, had been driven from his ancestral kingdom in Central Asia. He seized Cabul in 1504, and having consolidated his power there, he invaded India and established himself in it by the great victory of Paniput in 1526.

1. 27. **Rohillas, i.e. Highlanders.** Afghans settled in India are generally known as 'Pathans'.

1. 28. **fiefs of the spear, territories granted in feudal times on condition of military service.**

1. 32. **Aurangzebe (1659-1707), the last great ruler of the Mogul dynasty.** His power was greatly weakened by his futile invasions of Southern India from 1683 onwards.

page 28, 1. 5. **Agriculture . . . flourished.** Others say the Rohillas oppressed and rack-rented their Hindu peasant-tenants.

1. 6. **negligent of rhetoric and poetry.** The only ground for this assertion is that the Rohilla chief dabbled in poetry, while the members of his family were men of education.

§ 43

1. 13. **Catherine, Empress of Russia, joined by Austria and Prussia, carried out the First Partition of Poland in 1773.** This is often referred to as the beginning of that international lawlessness which Napoleon carried to an extreme, *e.g.* in his placing Joseph, his brother, on the throne of Spain in 1808.

"When Macaulay compares the actions of Shuja-ud-Daula in Rohilkhand to those of Catherine in Poland and those of the Bonapartes in Spain, the reader assumes that the position of the Rohillas was similar to that of the Poles and Spaniards, that of an injured people violently oppressed by foreign invaders . . . It would be less inaccurate to compare the position of the Rohillas in Rohilkhand with that of the Russians in Poland, or with that of the French in Spain in the time of Napoleon. The three cases had at least this in common, that in each of them a body of foreign soldiers was more or less successful in imposing, by violence and bloodshed, its rule over a large and unwilling population. The Rohillas were as much foreigners in Rohilkhand as Frenchmen in Spain, or Russians in Poland." Sir John Strachey, in these words, overlooks the fact that the Rohillas had been settled for a generation in the country to which they gave their name, while the French and Russians were simply invaders. Macaulay's parallel with Poland is not so far astray as his critic would have it, the Polish nobles being in very much the same position to their peasantry as the Rohillas to the Hindus.

1. 23. **many fields of battle, *e.g.* Paniput (1761), where they contributed materially to the defeat of the Mahrattas.**

1. 25. **eighty thousand men.** Mill states this, but only as an estimate. Half the number was all that resisted the invasion in 1774.

1. 29. **Caucasian tribes, a loose expression for the Afghans.**

§ 44

page 29, l. 7. A bargain was soon struck. The Treaty of Benares (7th September, 1773). The account of it here given is entirely misleading.

§ 45

l. 32. The hussar-mongers, a contemptuous epithet for the petty German princes of Hesse and Anspach, who sold their 'hussars' like ordinary market goods.

page 30, l. 18. caput lupinum, a wolf's head. The wolf is of course liable to immediate destruction as a beast of prey when it leaves its own haunts.

§ 46

l. 27. offered a large ransom. Colonel Champion wrote that the Rohilla leader "had by letter expressed earnest inclinations to come to an accommodation with the Vizier, who, however, claimed no less than two crore of rupees". Any sum offered by the Rohillas would be not a 'ransom', but a payment of the 40 lacs due to the Vizier of Oude under the Treaty of 1772, for help rendered by the latter in repelling the Mahrattas.

§ 47

page 31, l. 14. pestilential jungles, the Tarai, swampy ground close to the belt of forest in the lower reaches of the mountains. It was not the Rohillas but the Hindu peasants who took refuge there.

§ 50

page 33, l. 6. discussions on Asiatic affairs, in the sessions 1769-1773.

§ 51

l. 24. Barwell, Richard (1741-1804), son of a former Governor of Bengal. He acquired "one of the largest fortunes ever accumulated in India", and returned to England in 1780. He purchased an estate in Sussex for over £100,000, and was in Parliament from 1784 to 1796.

l. 26. Clavering (1722-1777), distinguished at the capture of Guadeloupe in 1759: "an honest, straightforward man, of passionate disposition, and mediocre abilities" (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

Monson (1730-1776), son of Lord Monson, educated at Westminster School under Dr. Nicholls. He distinguished himself at the siege and capture of Pondicherry in 1760-1761.

l. 27. Francis, Philip (1740-1818), son of a clergyman at Dublin, educated at St. Paul's School, London, entered the office of the secretary of state as a junior clerk (1756), through Lord Holland's

influence. He received promotion till he became chief clerk at the War Office, but resigned in 1773. Through the influence of Lord Barrington, the war secretary, he received the appointment to the Council of Bengal. Francis was in Parliament from 1784 to 1798, and from 1802 to 1806. He was disappointed of the Governor-Generalship of India in 1806, when Fox and the Whigs had the office at their disposal. In 1816, *Junius Identified*, by Taylor, assigned the authorship of the Letters to Francis.

§ 52

l. 35. estimate . . . high. "I know no better reason for believing the fellow to be Junius than that he was always confidently proud of something, and no one could ever guess what it could be" (Tierney).

§ 53

page 34, l. 6. Was he the author of the Letters of Junius? The question remains unanswered, although Macaulay confidently replies in the affirmative. The authorship remains a mystery. The matter has been almost as fully and fiercely debated as the Dreyfus case, the circumstantial arguments in which are so like Macaulay's 'proofs' of the Francis authorship. In Bohn's edition (1855) of the Letters, thirty-seven persons are mentioned to whom the authorship has been attributed. The most likely are Burke, Lord George Sackville, 'Single-speech' Hamilton, Horne Tooke, Chesterfield, and Earl Temple. Sir G. Trevelyan in his *Life of C. J. Fox* asserts that "Parkes and Merivale's *Memoir of Sir Philip Francis* has virtually set at rest a controversy that once promised to be eternal". Mr. Leslie Stephen, in a summary of the controversy in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (art. *Francis*), inclines to the same opinion. On the other hand, Hayward, in the *Encyc. Brit.*, says "the authorship of the Letters remains a mystery, and *Stat nominis umbra* is still the befitting motto for the title-page". The controversy still rages, e.g. in the *Athenæum* for January, 1900.

l. 10. The handwriting, &c. It is a common-sense maxim that it is impossible in disguising one's writing to write very much *better* than one does habitually. Yet Junius' handwriting is much superior to that of Francis. It comes nearest of all to that of Countess Temple. Expert evidence on this head is now discredited since the cases of Pigott and Dreyfus.

l. 12. the following, &c. The 'five marks' are disposed of by Hayward in his article on Junius in the *Encyc. Brit.* For instance, it is pointed out that Lord Barrington, the secretary of war, was attacked by Junius two years before Chamier was promoted. From a letter written by Francis when Chamier was appointed, it appears that he himself was offered it first, but he refused it, probably expecting an

appointment in India, such as he got a year later through Barrington's influence. Francis when in India kept up a confidential correspondence with Barrington, and visited him on his return from India. It is difficult to reconcile this friendly conduct of Francis with the fierce attacks of Junius on Barrington. With regard to Lord Holland's influence, it is clear from a fragment of autobiography left by the elder Francis that he considered himself ill-used by his former patron. He expresses himself as "stung with the idea of having been so long the dupe of a scoundrel". "In this", says the son, "I concurred with him heartily."

§ 54

page 35, l. 4. **The style of Francis.** His speeches show that he caught the mannerisms of Junius without the merits of his model. Macaulay's argument might be used by any inferior writer to prove authorship of any great work. A better test of Francis' capacity is proposed in the question, "How did he come off in his controversy with Hastings?"

l. 19. **Corneille, Pierre** (1606-1684), the great French dramatist, author of the tragedies *Le Cid*, *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*, *Horace*, &c.; also of comedies, the best of which is *Le Menteur*.

l. 20. **Ben Jonson** (1573-1637), author of the comedies *Every Man in his Humour*, *Volpone*, *The Alchemist*, *Epicæne or The Silent Woman*; also of tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Catiline*.

l. 21. **other works of Bunyan.** The *Holy War* and *Grace Abounding* are the best.

l. 22. **other works of Cervantes.** Cervantes (1547-1616) wrote many novels, besides thirty plays, of which only two remain.

l. 26. **Horne Tooke** (1736-1812), a clergyman who resigned his living in 1773 and became a lawyer, but was excluded from the bar in 1779. He was tried for high treason in 1794, but was acquitted. He wrote *The Diversions of Purley*, an amusing book on Philology, &c., and was elected for Old Sarum in 1801.

§ 55

l. 34. **Woodfall**, the publisher of the *Letters of Junius*.

page 36, l. 4. **arrogant.** Francis wrote to Burke (3rd Nov. 1790): "I wish you would let me teach you to write English".

l. 8. **Hebrew prophet.** *Jonah* iv. 9.

l. 19. **Old Sarum**, a decayed borough in Wiltshire, represented by Pitt on his entering Parliament in 1735. With its *one* voter it formed a striking contrast to such large and populous towns as Manchester and Leeds, which were unrepresented till 1832. The bill which passed the Commons for transferring the members from the

disfranchised borough of Grampound to Leeds (1821) failed to pass the Lords. The same fate befell the bill to displace Penryn by Manchester (1828).

§ 56

l. 30. George Grenville, Prime Minister (1763-1765), died in 1770.

l. 33. Middlesex election. The riots over the exclusion of Wilkes from Parliament took place in 1769.

§ 57

page 37, l. 18. the inns of court. There are four colleges or corporate societies in London to one of which all barristers and students for the bar must belong—Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Gray's Inn, and Lincoln's Inn.

l. 22. no very high opinion, &c. Yet he wrote to Francis on 26th August, 1774: "I shall impatiently expect your arrival here from the personal satisfaction I propose to myself from it"; and to Monson: "I shall seek to cultivate your friendship and confidence".

§ 58

page 38, l. 6. recalled the English agent, Middleton, in whose place they sent Bristow.

l. 14. affairs of Bombay into confusion by withdrawing support from the pretender-Peshwa, Ragoba, with whom the Bombay Council had made a treaty of alliance on condition of receiving Salsette and Bassein. The Bombay Council had now, therefore, to make peace with the Mahrattas who were opposed to Ragoba, and this they did by the Treaty of Purrunder (1776), giving up all the advantages they had obtained by the war.

l. 24. gangs of robbers, commonly known as *dacoits*.

§ 59

page 39, l. 28. Oateses, &c. Titus Oates pretended, in 1678, to have obtained proofs of a Popish conspiracy to kill Charles II. He was 'exploited' by Shaftesbury and the Whigs, and was rewarded with a pension of £600. His success encouraged other informers, such as Bedloe and Dangerfield, to come forward with still more wonderful stories.

§ 61

page 40, l. 35. a large supplement, really particulars of the original charges.

§ 62

page 41, l. 28. higher authority, the Court of Directors.

l. 30. placed his resignation, in a letter of 27th March, 1775. It was conditional; "if the first advices from England contain a disapprobation of the Treaty of Benares or of the Rohilla war, and mark an evident disinclination towards me".

§ 63

page 42, l. 26. possessing . . . stronghold. There is no evidence to support the insinuation that Hastings manipulated the Supreme Court, though he was certainly very intimate with Impey.

§ 64

l. 35. a native, Mohun Persad, with whom Nuncomar had been engaged in a lawsuit for two years before. Though the prosecution was decidedly opportune for Hastings, the evidence shows that it arose naturally in the course of this litigation. "An event befell elsewhere", says Gleig, in introducing the incident.

§ 65

page 43, l. 12. a true bill was found. The Grand Jury, before whom a criminal charge is first brought, gave as their verdict that there was sufficient evidence to justify proceeding with the case in the usual way, *i.e.* to try the accused before a 'petty' or ordinary jury.

l. 13. before Sir Elijah Impey. Macaulay may assume that Impey was practically the Supreme Court, the other three judges being mere ciphers. But it is scarcely fair to suppress the fact that the trial was before the four judges of the Supreme Court.

§ 67

page 44, l. 8. Clavering, it was said, &c. The rumour is contradicted by all his proceedings, as recorded in the Minutes of Council, &c.

l. 30. According to their old national laws. The Hindus certainly regarded life as sacred, but under English law Brahmins had been executed before Nuncomar.

§ 68

page 45, l. 4. The Mahommedan historian, the author of *Seer Mutakhareen* or *View of Modern Times*, a book frequently quoted by Mill, and by Macaulay in his two Indian essays. The author, Gholam Hosein Khan, was distantly related to the Bengal Nabobs.

1. 8. **other authority.** It is to be found in a letter of Barwell to his sister: "Fourteen blank covers of letters sealed with many English gentlemen's and Hindustani names were found in the Maharajah Nuncomar's house, and delivered into Council".

§ 69

1. 11. **The day drew near, 5th August, 1775.** The account which follows of the execution is taken from the description by the sheriff, Macrabie, a brother-in-law of Francis. This description was also used by Sir Gilbert Elliot in his speech on Impey's impeachment (see *Annual Register* for 1788).

§ 71

page 46, l. 29. The words are referred by many writers to the decision given by Impey in favour of Hastings in 1777, when the question of the legality of the resignation was brought before him.

§ 72

page 47, l. 14. a party. The word is used in its most correct sense here, viz. a person engaged in a lawsuit. The extension of the word to any 'person' is objected to by purists.

1. 24. **Lord Stafford, an aged Catholic nobleman, executed in 1680 on the evidence of Oates in a charge connected with the so-called Popish plot.**

§ 73

page 48, l. 35. to find a tiger, &c. Macaulay has adapted the expression in his *Lay of Horatius*:

"All shrank, like boys who unaware,
Ranging the woods to start a hare,
Come to the mouth of the dark lair
Where, growling low, a fierce old bear
Lies amidst bones and blood".

§ 74

page 49, l. 6. one of the letters of Hastings to Dr. Johnson, 7th August, 1775. The précis of the letter given by Macaulay is inaccurate. Hastings has nothing to say about "Mr. Jones's ingenious book" but to thank Dr. Johnson for sending it. He has nothing to say about "the history, traditions, arts, and natural productions of India" beyond a reference to a compilation and translation of the native laws. "Although the situation in which I have been placed has precluded me from gratifying my

curiosity by researches of my own into the history, traditions, arts, or natural productions of this country, yet I have not been inattentive to them, having esteemed it among the duties of my station to direct and encourage the pursuits of others to these discoveries." He sends Dr. Johnson "the journal of a friend of mine into the country of Tibet When I read the account of your visit to the Hebrides, I could not help wishing that a portion of that spirit which could draw so much entertainment and instruction from a region so little befriended by nature, or improved by the arts of society, could have animated Mr. Bogle, the author of this journal." The only trace of the storm through which Hastings had come is in the concluding part: "I have been unhappily engaged in such busy scenes as have precluded me, in a great degree, from most of the gratifications of society".

§ 75

The best commentary on this paragraph is Hastings' letter to Macleane, 14th July, 1776. "The letter from the Court of Directors is the most partial that ever bore their seal. It is replete with the grossest adulation to the majority, and of as gross abuse to me, which is conveyed even in the language of my opponents. But I regard it not. . . . In their general letter to Bombay, dated 12th April, 1775, they declare their disapprobation of the resolution expressed by that presidency to take possession of Salsette by force, and positively prohibit them 'from attempting it *under any circumstances whatever*'—a favourite expression. In their general letter to us (18th December, 1775) they say, 'We approve, *under every circumstance*, of keeping all territories and possessions ceded to the Company by the treaty concluded with Ragobah, and direct you forthwith to adopt such measures as may be necessary for their preservation and defence'. Yet they knew that Salsette, the capital of these territories and possessions, had been taken by force, before any treaty existed that could give them a right to it. It is remarkable, too, that in the same letter they say, 'We utterly disapprove and condemn offensive wars, distinguishing, however, between offensive measures unnecessarily undertaken with a view to pecuniary advantages, and those which the preservation of our honour, or the protection or safety of our possessions, may render absolutely necessary'. . . . I am armed with a most stoical indifference for the anathemas of the general letter. Francis calls the last (which is most illiberal towards me) a *brutum fulmen*; and the absurdity of the exhortation (to harmony) with which it concluded so struck the fancy of every member of the Board when it was read, that they all at once burst out into a loud and hearty laugh, the only symptom of unanimity that I have seen in that assembly these two years."

1. 28. As Lady Macbeth says. *Macbeth*, act i, sc. 5.

§ 76

page 50, l. 4. The wish of the minister was to displace Hastings, not so much from personal dislike, as from a desire to supersede the Company's authority by that of the Crown.

l. 8. The Court of Proprietors was then convened. The General Court, which consisted of all shareholders, possessed of £500 stock, met on 16th May, a week after the meeting of the Court of Directors. It was called on a requisition signed by nine shareholders.

l. 10. the Secretary of the Treasury. Now popularly known as the Whip.

l. 12. Lord Sandwich (1718-1792) negotiated the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, was First Lord of the Admiralty (1748-1751), Secretary of State in 1763 and in 1770, and again at the Admiralty in 1771. He was, according to Sir G. Trevelyan, "the most consummate electioneerer of the day", and in proof of this Sir George refers to his doings when a candidate for the High Stewardship of Cambridge University. "He bribed; he promised; . . . he fetched one voter out of a mad-house, and another from the Isle of Man."

l. 15. so far eastward, in Leadenhall Street in the heart of the City, which is well east from the aristocratic quarter of London.

l. 16. The debate lasted, &c. "Near midnight we divided; you will not be surprised that this shoal of ministers rushing out of court in the moment of division carried the question against us, at that late hour, 108 to 97. We demanded the ballot, which was fixed for the 18th of May, and carried against every effort of administration [*i.e.* Government] and the chairs by 106" (Maclean's Letter to Hastings).

l. 21. The ministers were greatly exasperated. "This has given great offence to administration. I have never known them so sore on any defeat. So great a majority has stunned them. Lord North cannot bear the least mention of the India House, directors, or proprietors. He 'will have nothing to do with India matters out of Parliament. The Company must be restrained to its commerce. Territorial acquisitions are beyond their ability to manage, and must be taken from them without waiting for the expiration of the charter. For this purpose Parliament must meet before Christmas.' . . . Nothing has alarmed me so much as the defection of friends. I live in constant dread of the operation of loaves and fishes. Government are disgusted; they have reaped no benefit in proportion to the good things they have given; and those who got nothing are irritated" (Maclean's Letter).

l. 22. Even Lord North, a man "of indolent conscience and excellent judgment" (Trevelyan). See note on § 188.

§ 77

l. 32. The opinion of the crown lawyers. "The opinions of counsel were all against a prosecution at common law. The attorney-general's was manly and decided in your favour. The solicitor-general's was the most unfavourable" (Maclean's Letter).

l. 34. high time . . . an honourable retreat. Maclean was alarmed by a newspaper and pamphlet war carried on against Hastings, but most of all by the threats conveyed to him by Lord North's friends. A resignation, according to Mill, would have allowed Hastings to be restored to the service by a majority of the proprietors, whereas a dismissal would have made that impossible.

page 51, l. 3. The instrument was not in very accurate form. Maclean was asked by a Director, "Have you no instrument saying, 'I, Warren Hastings, authorize you, &c.?' " He answered, "No; I believe neither Mr. Hastings nor any of those who were present thought it a matter of so much formality; if certain things were not obtained, I was ordered to signify Mr. Hastings's wish to be relieved; if they were obtained, I was ordered not to make this signification". One of the three Directors to whom the letter of Hastings was shown, regarded it as inadequate for a resignation, and Hastings' friends taxed Maclean "with treachery and doing what I had no authority for". A few days later Maclean wrote to Hastings *not to resign*, as Government had conferred the red ribbon on Clavering without any corresponding honour on himself, and that this was a breach of the compromise in terms of which the resignation had been offered.

§ 78

l. 11. Monson was no more. He died in September, 1776.

l. 19. their creatures were displaced. Bristow, the resident at Lucknow, was displaced by Middleton, who, as Hastings' nominee, had been recalled by the majority of the Council in 1774. Fowke, the resident at Benares, was recalled on the ground that the purposes of his commission had been fulfilled, but immediately afterward a nominee of Hastings was appointed.

l. 21. the whole enquiry . . . in his name. The scheme was violently opposed by Francis and Clavering, and the Directors censured it as a means of "investing himself with an improper degree of power in the business of the revenue". But the objections were really groundless. "It has been said that I have taken the whole management of the revenue out of the hands of the Board. Nothing can be more untrue. The office [newly established] does not concern the management of the revenue, but is merely an office of account. The officers were appointed by the Board, their orders were issued by the Board, and all the power distinctly given to me

was that of issuing my orders for the execution and in aid of the orders issued by the Board. It is a fact that I have done no more, or little more, than sign the orders which were sent to the Aumeers (district officers), and which were literal translations from the minutes of Council" (Letter of 22nd November, 1777). The valuation of the lands in Bengal is one of Hastings' most notable achievements, preparing the way for the Permanent Settlement effected under his successor.

1. 24. **vast plans, &c.** "The present conjuncture is no less favourable than any of the past for advancing the interests of the Company, and extending their influence and connexions. . . . I wish to extend the influence of the British nation to every part of India not too remote from their possessions, without enlarging the circle of their defence, or involving them in hazardous or indefinite engagements, and to accept of the allegiance of such of our neighbours as shall sue to be enlisted among the friends and allies of the King of Great Britain. . . . On this footing I would replace the subahship of Oude. On this footing I would establish an alliance with Berar. These countries are of more importance to us than any others, from their contiguity to ours. But the same system might be rendered more extensive by time" (Hastings' Letter of 12th January, 1777). The scheme here outlined was carried into effect by Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General from 1798 to 1805.

1. 27. **subsidiary alliances.** As an illustration, that with Berar may be quoted from Hastings' Memorandum on his foreign policy (10th February, 1777): "Let a treaty of defensive alliance be formed with the Rajah of Berar. Let such a number of our sepoys as shall be necessary for his protection be stationed with him, and annually relieved. Let him pay a fixed monthly *subsidy* for these."

§ 80

page 52, l. 15. He afterwards affirmed, in a letter to Lord North (29th June, 1777). "My Lord, I was not pleased with the engagement made for me by Mr. Maclean; I will candidly own it. But I held myself bound by it, and was resolved to ratify it. This was my resolution; but General Clavering has himself defeated it, by the attempt to wrest from me by violence what he could claim only as a voluntary surrender."

1. 35. **to submit the case to the Supreme Court.** While the Court decided in favour of Hastings' main contention, it failed to support his view that Clavering, by assuming the office of Governor-General, had vacated his place as a Councillor. Many think (*e.g.* Keene and Lyall) that it was to this occasion that Hastings referred when he said that to Impey he at one time owed "the safety of his fortune, honour, and reputation" (§ 71). Certainly Impey played a prominent part in this extraordinary *coup d'état*.

"Sir Elijah Impey has been greatly affected by the late events, more, I think, than myself. I was at one time alarmed for his health; but I thank God he is very stout again" (Hastings' Letter to Sullivan, 29th June, 1777).

§ 83

page 54, l. 24. the vigour and genius of the elder Pitt.

l. 29. just discontents of Ireland, on account of political, religious, and commercial grievances. The political grievance was removed by the grant of an independent Parliament in 1782, the religious one to a small extent by the partial removal of Catholic disabilities in 1779.

l. 30. France declared war in 1778, Spain in 1779, and Holland in 1780.

l. 31. armed neutrality of the Baltic. The Northern Powers—Denmark, Sweden, and Russia—united in 1780 to resist England's claim to the right of search on the high seas.

l. 33. Calpe, the ancient name for the rock of Gibraltar, one of the pillars of Hercules. During the siege of Gibraltar (1779-1782) the British with difficulty managed to throw in supplies twice.

Mexican Sea. The French fleet under de Grasse was in 1781 superior to the British fleet in the West Indies. In April, 1782, Rodney, by a brilliant victory west of St. Lucia, restored British supremacy.

l. 34. the British flag, &c. In 1778 Keppel shrunk from an engagement with the French fleet in the Channel. In 1781 the island of Jersey was very nearly captured by the French.

§ 84

page 55, l. 14. Sevajee (1627-1680). He made a raid on the English settlement of Surat in 1663, assumed the position of a Rajah in 1664, went to the Mogul Court at Delhi in 1666, made the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda his tributaries in 1668, was enthroned as an independent prince in 1674, and before his death, in 1680, had built up the strongest kingdom in Southern India.

l. 27. Scindia, at Gwalior; Holkar, at Indore.

l. 29. Gooti, in the hilly district north of Mysore.

§ 85

page 56, l. 2. Tamerlane, the Tartar invader, who anticipated in 1398 his descendant Baber's conquest of India, but failed to found a permanent dynasty.

- l. 6. **roi fainéant**, 'a do-nothing king'; a mere figure-head.

bang, a variety of the common hemp, the juice having a narcotic or an intoxicant effect. The dried leaves are chewed or smoked, or an infusion from them is drunk, as the common stimulant in the East. The drug is used in medicine, like opium, as an anodyne.

- l. 8. **Peshwa**, *i.e.* chief minister.

§ 86

- l. 14. a **French adventurer**, the Chevalier St. Lubin; **quality** = rank.

§ 87

l. 23. a **pretender**, Ragoba. His cause was espoused by the Bombay government and the Court of Directors in the expectation of getting Salsette and Bassein. His party was insignificant (see note on § 58).

§ 88

- l. 34. **The French factories in Bengal**, the chief of which was Chandernagore.

page 57, l. 7. **Lascars**, properly camp-followers, but now always applied to the native sailors of India.

§ 89

- l. 14. **The commanding officer**. Colonel Leslie.

l. 15. **The authorities . . . blundered**. "They had desperately sent a handful of men against the strength of the Mahratta Empire" (Grant Duff). The result was a disastrous march to within a few miles of Poona, and a humiliating capitulation at Wargaum in 1779.

- l. 16. **A new commander**. Colonel Goddard, who marched across the country from Bengal to Bombay.

l. 18. **brilliant actions**. The most brilliant was the capture, in August, 1780, of Gwalior, a rock fortress hitherto considered impregnable.

- l. 20. a **new . . . danger**, from Hyder Ali, who burst upon the Carnatic in July, 1780.

§ 90

l. 27. **Sir Eyre Coote**, of Irish birth, had destroyed French power in the Carnatic by his victory at Wandewash in 1760, and his capture of Pondicherry in 1761.

- l. 35. **Lally**, also of Irish extraction, son of an expatriated Jacobite. He had fought at Fontenoy and Laffeldt, and had taken

part in the 'Forty-five'. He began his career in India brilliantly by taking Fort St. David immediately on his landing (1758). He was tried on his return to France, and after three years' imprisonment was beheaded in 1766.

page 58, l. 17. Porto Novo, a victory of Coote's in July, 1781; Pollilore, another in August, 1781.

§ 91

l. 30. the most exorbitant allowances. "In my personal conduct to Sir Eyre Coote I have endeavoured to gain his friendship by an official support of his pretensions, by an unreserved surrender of the military department, and by other more important concessions. . . . I have formed an establishment for his expenses in the field on a very liberal scale" (Hastings' Letter to Sullivan, 18th April, 1779).

§ 93

page 59, l. 15. During a few months. From February to August, 1780.

§ 94

l. 24. omitted to define the limits. Hastings drew up a plan to remedy the evil, and sent it to Lord Mansfield for his opinion (20th January, 1776): "The doubts which have arisen, and disputes upon these doubts, concerning the respective powers of the Council and Supreme Court of Judicature have made it necessary that both should be described by more distinct lines than those by which they are marked in the late Act of Parliament".

page 60, l. 21. chambers that overlook the Thames, the Temple Inns of Court being on the Thames Embankment.

l. 25. poorer. The Indian labourer gets (roughly) a penny where the English labourer gets a shilling.

l. 29. The strongest feelings . . . innovation. Hastings gives an example in one of his letters. "The Rajah of Cossijura complained bitterly of the violation of his zenana, and of his religion, the former having been forcibly entered, the women and children having indeed been conveyed away upon the first alarm; the door of his temple broken open and his idol taken and packed like a common utensil in a basket, and sealed up with the other lumber" (Gleig, ii. 244).

l. 31. mesne process, that part of a lawsuit which intervenes between the original process and the final issue. It is a Norman-French word from Latin *medianus*, middle.

page 61, l. 17. to treat ladies . . . Wat Tyler. In 1381 Wat Tyler, a peasant of Kent, struck dead a collector of the poll-tax (levied on all above the age of fourteen) who had offered a gross

insult to his daughter in a dispute as to her liability for the tax. Tyler afterwards headed a rebellion, but was killed by the Lord Mayor of London in presence of the king, Richard II.

§ 95

1. 34. **barrators**, the encouragers of vexatious litigation.

1. 35. **chicane**, trickery, from old French *chic*, small; modern French *chicane*, trickery.

page 62, 1. 2. **spunging-houses**, houses where debtors were confined by sheriff-officers for twenty-four hours after arrest, to allow of payment of debts by the debtor's friends. The charges in these houses were so extortionate that they were compared to the squeezing dry of a *sponge*.

1. 8. **There were instances, &c.** There is *one* instance given in Mill of a native judge being proceeded against by the Supreme Court for oppression involved in a decision he had given in a Patna case. "The Cauzee (or judge), an old man, who had been chief Cauzee of the province for many years, was unable to endure the vexation and fatigue [of the journey to Calcutta], and he expired by the way."

1. 11. **alguazils**, from Arabic *al*, the; *guazil*=*wazir*, Vizier or minister. The word was adopted by the Spaniards from the Moors, applying it to inferior officers of justice; bailiffs or constables.

The sepoy placed over the Cauzee were not officers of Impey, or even of the Supreme Court, but of the Patna Council, which had given bail for him.

1. 16. **there were instances . . . women.** Mill gives *one* instance (iv. 290), in which a Phousdar (or chief criminal judge) tried to avoid arrest, and to repel an attempt of the bailiff to enter the house. "An affray arose in the court of the house. The father of the Phousdar received a wound in the head from a sword by an attendant of the bailiff."

1. 22. **Vansittart** was Governor of Bengal between Clive's first and second administrations (1760-1765) (see note on § 13).

1. 23. **Mahratta invasion.** In 1742 so much alarm was caused in Calcutta by a Mahratta invasion that a ditch was formed for the protection of the city, and this ditch is still known as the Mahratta ditch.

§ 96

1. 35. **catchpoles**, bailiffs; originally tax-gatherers. The derivation is variously given as from *poll*, the head (cp. poll-tax), and from French *poule*, a fowl.

§ 98

page 64, l. 16. Jefferies, or Jeffreys, the judge in James II's reign who acquired notoriety by his brutality to prisoners, and especially by his severity in the Bloody Assize of 1685. At the Revolution he was thrown into the Tower.

l. 27. walk the plank, which was balanced on the ship's bulwarks and tilted down towards the water as the captives walked on it.

§ 99

page 65, l. 8. personal aversion. Francis bore a grudge against Impey, who had sentenced him to pay 50,000 rupees as damages for adultery with a Calcutta lady, Mrs. Grand. Many of the allegations to Impey's discredit may have arisen from the resentment of Francis over this affair.

§ 100

page 66, l. 5. They met, and fired. Hastings felt ashamed of "the silly affair". "I have been ashamed that I have been made an actor in it, and I was much disturbed by an old woman whose curiosity prompted her to stand by as a spectatress of a scene so little comprehended by the natives of this part of the world" (Letter of 30th August, 1780).

§ 103

page 67, l. 7. old principalities, such as Bijanuggur.

l. 10. Lewis the Eleventh, King of France from 1461 to 1483. He curbed the power of the nobles, and contributed much to the consolidation of France (see Scott's novel, *Quentin Durward*).

§ 104

l. 25. provoked . . . hostility, by the capture, in 1779, of the French port of Mahé, which Hyder wished to continue to use as a means of communication with the European rivals of the British.

§ 105

page 68, l. 7. Mount St. Thomas, about six miles from Madras. eastern should be 'western'.

§ 106

l. 21. Sir Hector Munro, who defeated the Nabob of Oude at the battle of Buxar in October, 1764.

l. 28. Baillie's detachment of 2000 men was destroyed on 10th September, 1780, near Conjeveram.

§ 107

page 69, l. 6. the south-west monsoon, which blows from April to November.

l. 13. accommodated. The compromise was effected through the Rajah of Berar.

§ 108

l. 26. The reinforcements were sent off on 13th October; they reached Madras on 5th November, 1780.

§ 111

The description of Benares is based on Bishop Heber's account in his *Journal*, i. 371-400.

page 70, l. 23. sacred apes, sacred to Hunimaun, that divine ape or monkey-god who, according to the Brahmins, was the conqueror of Ceylon.

l. 25. holy mendicants, fakeers.

l. 26. holy bulls. "The bulls devoted to Siva, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walk lazily up and down the narrow streets" (Lord Stanhope, from Heber's *Journal*).

page 71, l. 6. St. James's . . . Versailles, the English and French courts. In the original text the 'Petit Trianon' stood for 'Versailles'. The Petit Trianon is a graceful little château close to the Palace of Versailles, built by Louis XV for Madame du Barry. It was afterwards a favourite retreat with Marie Antoinette, the wife of Louis XVI.

l. 7. sabres of Oude. Lucknow was famous for the inlaying of sabres.

l. 8. Golconda, near Hyderabad, famous for the cutting of diamonds.

l. 9. shawls of Cashmere, made from the wool of the Thibet goat (see § 208).

§ 113

page 72, l. 18. Hugh Capet, crowned king of France at Rheims in 987, the founder of the royal dynasty which governed France till the Revolution.

l. 19. the Duke of Brittany, a vassal of the Duke of Normandy, who, in turn, was a vassal of the King of France.

l. 24. ordinances of Charles the Tenth, issued in 1830. They destroyed the liberty of the press, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, and restricted the franchise: they were an infringement of the Charter sworn to by Charles at his accession, and the immediate cause of the second French Revolution.

1. 28. **Prince Louis Bonaparte**, who ultimately became the Emperor Napoleon III. He made two abortive attempts to secure supreme power, first at Strasburg in 1836, and then at Boulogne in 1840.

§ 114

page 73, l. 15. *de facto*, in point of fact, actually; *de jure*, in point of right. *

§ 117

page 75, l. 2. *courted* . . . *Clavering*. He sent congratulations to Clavering on his becoming Governor-General on the supposed resignation of Hastings.

§ 119

page 76, l. 5. "*I resolved*", &c. A similar statement was made afterwards by Hastings. "I left Calcutta impressed with the belief that extraordinary means, and those exerted with a strong hand, were necessary to prevent the Company's interests from sinking under the accumulated weight which oppressed them. I saw a political necessity for curbing the overgrown power of a great member of their dominion, and to make it contribute to the relief of their pressing exigencies. If I erred, my error was prompted by an excess of zeal for their interests."

§ 121

page 77, l. 1. *to be arrested*, not taken away to a place of confinement, but put under guard in his own house, and told to consider himself as under arrest.

§ 122

1. 10. *the Delta of the Ganges*, the Sunderbunds, where the inhabitants live as "in a constant vapour-bath" (§ 29).

1. 15. *the prosperity of the district*. Hastings himself, in a Minute in Council (1775), declared that the Zemindary of the Rajah of Benares consisted of "as rich and well cultivated a territory as any district, perhaps, of the same extent in India".

1. 28. *Black Town*, *i.e.* the native quarter. There was similarly a Black Town at Madras.

§ 123

page 78, l. 18. *the English cantonments*, such as at Lucknow, Cawnpore, Chunar, where English troops were quartered.

§ 124

page 79, l. 1. *insurgents beyond the river*, in the Rajah's fortified palace of Ramnagar.

§ 125

l. 24. Major Popham, the hero of the capture of Gwalior in 1780.

l. 28. His fastnesses were stormed. Pateeta (stormed by Major Roberts), Lutteefpur, and Bijagur.

l. 32. One of his relations, a nephew, in whose family the Zemindary has continued.

§ 126

page 80, l. 1. an addition. The tribute was raised from 22 lacs to 40.

§ 127

l. 11. Sujah Dowlah died in 1775.

l. 18. skilful management, &c. The embarrassments of the Nabob were due largely to the Treaty of 1775, under which the Begums were allowed to retain the late Nabob's treasures, worth about £2,000,000. This was in accordance with the instructions of Francis and the majority of the Council, but in direct contradiction to the recommendations of Hastings.

§ 130

page 81, l. 33. to rob a third party. In thus describing the attempted restitution of the Nabob's treasures to their rightful owner, Macaulay ignores the circumstances under which the Begums obtained the treasures. The will under which the Begums claimed the treasures was never produced.

§ 131

page 82, l. 4. dotation, a jaghire, or territorial revenue of about £50,000 a year.

§ 132

l. 17. A solemn compact. The Treaty of 1775. Hastings recorded his dissent to it in the Minutes of Council.

§ 134

page 83, l. 21. His . . . grandmother . . . implored. She was a woman of "uncommonly violent temper", and, instead of 'imploring', declared she would make short work of her feeble grandson but for his being supported by the English.

l. 24. the English resident, Middleton, appointed by Hastings as one in whom he had implicit confidence (see notes on §§ 58, 78).

§ 135

page 84, l. 10. two ancient men. Mill describes them as "two ancient personages of great rank and distinction", but others maintain they were not old. One was seen by Lord Valentia about twenty years after, and was described as "well, fat, and enormously rich". They were not infirm guardians of the harem, but the agents and chief advisers of the Begums. The responsibility for keeping back the treasures lay with them almost as much as with the Begums.

§ 136

l. 33. an English government, in the person of the English resident at Lucknow. The instructions of Hastings are said to have been so jesuitically worded that the resident could scarcely escape from the charge either of undue laxity or undue severity. Sir A. Lyall's judgment on the matter is likely to be final: "The employment of personal severities, under the superintendence of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs, is an ignoble kind of undertaking. A governing Englishman loses caste and honour who takes a share, directly or indirectly, in these sinister fiscal operations."

§ 137

page 85, l. 22. quivering lips, &c. The description is borrowed from the letter sent by the commanding officer to the resident: "In tears of joy they expressed their sincere acknowledgments to the Governor. . . . The quivering lips, with the tears of joy stealing down the poor men's cheeks, was a scene truly affecting. If the prayers of these poor men will avail, you will at the last trump be translated to the happiest regions in heaven."

§ 138

page 86, l. 1. Those affidavits he did not read. It is replied to this that "when an affidavit is sworn, even in a judicial proceeding, the person before whom it is sworn never knows its contents. He has as little to do with it as the attesting witness of a will or deed has to do with the contents of the documents which he attests. To blame a man for swearing an affidavit in a language of which the person before whom it is sworn is ignorant, is as absurd as to blame a man for witnessing a will written in a language which he does not know. All that the judge or commissioner has to do is to satisfy himself that the deponent swears that the contents of his affidavit, whatever they may be, are true. All that he need know of the deponent's language is enough of it to ask him if the matter of his affidavit is true, and to give him the oath" (Sir J. F. Stephen).

l. 3. dialects of Northern India. This is a significant change from the original version: "they were in Persian and Hindustani",

a statement taken from Mill. The reason for the change was that a Mr. Macfarlane pointed out that Impey knew Persian, and Macaulay was forced to admit Impey might have read those. But to prevent Impey escaping from the original charge, the statement was now hazarded that some of the affidavits were in the vernacular dialects of Upper India. But in fact "all the affidavits were in English, except nineteen in Persian, one Persian translation of a Hindustani original, and one in French. Not one was in any dialect of Upper India. . . . A false premiss was substituted for one which was half true, in order to suggest a conclusion wholly false—namely, that Impey was unable to read the affidavits" (Sir J. Stephen).

l. 12. **he had no more right . . . Exeter.** The Lord President of the Court of Session is the highest judicial officer in Scotland. Impey's conduct has been condemned even by those who defend Hastings. "An English Chief-Justice surely travels out of his way when he goes about a foreign country taking affidavits in support of the Governor-General's political escapades" (Sir A. Lyall).

§ 139

l. 26. **since the Revolution, i.e. since Jeffreys, notorious for the Bloody Assize.**

l. 30. **two committees of the Commons.** In February, 1781, a Select Committee was appointed under the influence of the Opposition, Burke being the chief; on 30th April, 1781, the Government moved the appointment of a Secret Committee to deal chiefly with affairs in the Carnatic.

l. 33. **Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville (1742-1811), M.P. for Midlothian in 1774, Lord Advocate from 1775 to 1782.** Though elected as an opponent of Lord North, he became his supporter and a defender of the American war. He continued in office throughout the Rockingham ministry, and, having supported Pitt against the Coalition, became in Pitt's administration President of the Board of Control in 1784, and Home Secretary in 1791. He resigned with the rest of the ministry in 1801. On Pitt's return to power in 1804 he became First Lord of the Admiralty, but in 1805 was impeached for "gross malversation and breach of duty" in his capacity as treasurer of the navy. Though acquitted, he refrained from re-entering the political arena.

§ 140

page 87, l. 10. **therefore.** The 'therefore' is out of place, for the great desire, then prevalent in all parties, to show that Government could well displace the Company, was a powerful influence affecting the minds of members, and preventing an impartial decision. 'Justice' is not proved by showing that the judge was an interested party.

§ 142

page 88, l. 3. no regular opposition. Macpherson and Stables, who had gone out to India as his 'dear friends', opposed him, till he declared that "no consideration on earth shall induce or compel me to act longer with such associates". In 1783 they consistently supported Bristow as Resident at Lucknow, though Hastings had once before recalled him, and wished to do so again. A third member, Wheler, could not be relied upon by either party, though latterly he voted generally with Hastings, and was consequently described by Burke as "his supple, worn-down, beaten, cowed, and, I am afraid, bribed colleague, Mr. Wheler".

1. 4. The Mahratta war had ceased in 1782.
1. 5. Hyder was no more. He died in December, 1782.

A treaty had been concluded in March, 1784.

§ 144

page 89, l. 10. rude and imperfect order. In announcing to the Directors his resolution to leave India, he wrote: "I consider myself in this act as the fortunate instrument of dissolving the frame of an inefficient government, pernicious to your interests, and disgraceful to the national character". On which Sir A. Lyall remarks: "With this parting benediction on the cranky vessel, ill-made, ill-manned, hard to steer, sail, or keep afloat in foul weather, which he had commanded with mutinous officers, short provisions, and inefficient machinery through the storms and straits of eleven years, Warren Hastings laid down his Governor-Generalship".

1. 14. the Emperor Joseph of Austria, who reigned as sole Emperor from 1780 to 1790. He was noted as a reformer among kings.

1. 15. He boasted, in his defence before the House of Lords (see also letter of 13th September, 1786).

§ 146

page 90, l. 9. Downing Street, which contains the residence of the Prime Minister and other members of government.

1. 10. Somerset House, in the Strand, built by the Protector Somerset in 1549, on whose execution it became government property. It contains the offices of Inland Revenue, of the Admiralty, of the Registrar-General, &c.

§ 147

1. 26. Marlborough . . . Dutch Deputies. The war of the Spanish Succession was carried on by England, Holland, and Austria against France. The Dutch representatives hampered the plans of

Marlborough, who gladly transferred the seat of war in 1704 to the Danube, where he could have a free hand.

l. 28. the Portuguese Regency, &c., in the Peninsular War. The Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil in 1807, after which a Council of Regency directed affairs. Similarly, after the dethronement of the Spanish king, a Council or Junta took up the government. "It organized nothing, comprehended nothing. Its part in the national movement was confined to a system of begging and boasting, which demoralized the Spaniards, and bewildered the agents and generals of England who first attempted the difficult task of assisting the Spaniards to help themselves" (Fyffe's *Modern Europe*, i. 387). Mr. Perceval, the Prime Minister, hampered Wellington's operations by stinting him in men and money.

§ 150

page 92, l. 9. His style. Macaulay is generous in his judgment. Even the praise he gives must be confined to the Minutes. The Letters are, in general, tedious, prolix, and dull, full of ponderous and involved sentences. They are as unlike the lively letters of Horace Walpole, the prince of letter-writers, as anything can well be. The nearest approach in his letters to liveliness is in the letter of 10th November, 1780, when, referring to his doing without a domestic chaplain and a domestic surgeon, he says: "Neither my constitution nor my religious principles have been a charge to the Company".

l. 12. turgid . . . bombastic, *e.g.* (writing to his wife): "All my past doubts, and the fixed gloom which has so long overspread my imagination, are dissipated like the darkness before the equinoctial sun rising on the plains of Suckrowl". The word 'wife' was not good enough for him. When he was angling for a peerage, he wrote to 'my dear Elijah' (May, 1817): "By what appellation ought a husband to designate his wife in an address to a very superior authority? Is there any decent word in our language that can be substituted for the word 'my wife'?"

§ 151

l. 23. Milton and Adam Smith, *i.e.* English literature and philosophy. Adam Smith's chief work was the *Wealth of Nations* (1776).

l. 26. Arabian expositions. The Arabs kept the lamp of science burning in the Dark Ages when it had gone out in Europe. But the light was borrowed from Aristotle.

l. 28. a far more virtuous ruler, Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General (1828-1835). But the real author of the scheme was Macaulay himself, whose Minute in 1835 decided a twenty years' controversy between the claims of Oriental and English

learning. "The decision to which Macaulay's minute led remains the great landmark in the history of our Empire, considered as an institute of civilization. It marks the moment when we deliberately recognized that a function had devolved on us in Asia similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe" (Sir J. R. Seeley).

page 93, l. 4. Asiatic Society, in Calcutta, for encouraging the study of Oriental learning.

l. 10. Pundits, lit. 'learned': those learned in the Sanscrit language and literature, Sanscrit being the 'sacred dialect'.

l. 22. Brahminical . . . jurisprudence. The interest Hastings took in the translation and digest of Hindu laws suggested to Burke ironical reflections on his disregard of them in practice.

§ 152

page 95, l. 8. a jingling ballad. The lines are said to refer really to Hastings' flight from Benares: "With *hauda* on elephant, saddle on horse, quickly go, quickly go, Warren Hastings". The original is given in Stanhope's *History of England*, vol. vii. The authority for it is Bishop Heber, who misunderstands it in the same way as Macaulay.

§ 153

l. 35. in all pecuniary dealings. When the Nabob of Oude at Chunar in 1781 gave him a present of ten lacs, he asked permission of the Directors to keep it to himself. He regarded the request as likely to be thought "indiscreet by my friends and presumptuous by my enemies".

page 96, l. 18. Carlton House, the palace occupied by the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV. It was so called from its original proprietor, Lord Carlton, who built it in 1709. It was demolished in 1827, to make room for Waterloo Place.

Palais Royal, a palace in Paris, built by Richelieu between 1629 and 1634, and left by him to the king. It was given by Louis XIV to the Duke of Orleans, in whose family it continued till their expulsion from France.

§ 154

page 97, l. 4. round-house of an Indiaman, the stern cabin of a vessel sailing to the East Indies.

l. 6. sandal-wood, a fragrant wood produced in Southern India and the South Sea Islands. The name is from Persian *chandāl*, through the French.

l. 10. the letters of Hastings to his wife. They were bought by the British Museum in 1872, and are largely quoted from in Busteed's *Echoes from Old Calcutta* and Sir C. Lawson's *Private Life of Warren Hastings*. The one written the day after his wife sailed may be taken as an example. "I followed your ship with

my eyes until I could no longer see it, and I passed a most wretched day with my heart swol'n with affliction and my head raging with pain. . . . I am certain that no time nor habit will remove the pressure of your image from my heart, nor from my spirits; nor would I remove it if I could, though it will prove a perpetual torment to me. . . . Oh God! what a change was effected in my existence within the space of a few minutes, when I passed from the ship to the pinnacle."

l. 13. a little more ceremonious, &c. In the letter of 24th September, 1784, Hastings writes, not without reason: "What a letter have I written; and who that read it without the direction would suspect it to be written by a fond husband to his beloved wife?"

l. 15. "his elegant Marian". In the letter of 14th November, 1784, Hastings describes a gift from the Begum of "two couches, eight chairs, and two footstools, all of the former patterns, except two of the chairs, which are of buffalo horn, most delicately formed; not designed for fat folks, nor romps; nor proper for you, my elegant Marian, to use in the presence of your husband".

l. 16. Sir Charles Grandison. The hero of the novel of that name by Richardson is painfully correct and dignified in all his behaviour. On the morning after his marriage he is "in the cedar parlour, writing"; "he received us like himself", writes his sister; then "he withdrew bowing to us; and with so much respectfulness to the happy Harriet (Miss Byron, now his wife) as delighted us all" (Letter 256). A more lively scene will be found in Letter 233, beginning "But hurrying me into the cedar parlour, 'I am jealous, my love,' said he, putting his arm round me, &c." "The cedar parlour" of Selby House, Miss Byron's residence, also figures in Letter 220.

§ 156

l. 34. Horace's '*Otium Divos rogat*'. Horace's *Odes*, ii. 16. The first stanza of Hastings' translation is:—

"For ease the harass'd seaman prays,
When equinoctial tempests raise
The Cape's surrounding wave;
When hanging o'er the reef he hears
The cracking mast, and sees, or fears,
Beneath, his watery grave".

The following stanza is the most interesting:—

"No fears his peace of mind annoy,
Lest printed lies his fame destroy
Which laboured years have won;
Nor packed Committees break his rest,
Nor Avarice sends him forth in quest
Of climes beneath the sun".

l. 35. **Mr. Shore**, a frequent correspondent of Hastings', and Governor-General of India, between Cornwallis and Wellesley (1793-1798).

§ 157

page 98, l. 9. in Leadenhall Street, where the Board of Directors met.

l. 10. retired with his wife. He "was much vexed at not finding his wife in London, rushed off toward Cheltenham after two days' stay, and on Maidenhead Bridge met her coming to meet him".

§ 158

l. 11. He was greatly pleased with his reception. "I was early summoned to receive the thanks of the Directors for my services, and the Chairman who read them dwelt with a strong emphasis on the word 'unanimously'. From the King and Queen my reception was most gracious. The Board of Control has been more than polite to me. . . . Lord Thurlow has been more substantially my friend than King, Ministers, and Directors" (Letter of 22nd September, 1785).

l. 13. incurred much censure. Two of the king's equerries were much surprised that a divorcée should have been, contrary to the queen's ordinary practice, received at Court, as Mrs. Hastings had been within a fortnight of her return. One of them wrote that "it gave everybody the greatest surprise, and me, in my ignorance, the greatest concern on account of the Queen". But he was reassured by an explanation from so distinguished a writer as Miss Burney.

§ 160

page 99, l. 8. **Mr. Grattan**, the Irish statesman who secured the independence of the Irish Parliament in 1782, hence called Grattan's Parliament.

l. 17. **Hannibal . . . at Waterloo**. Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginians in their second war with the Romans (218-201 B.C.), presents a wonderful parallel to Napoleon in respect of career, character, and military genius. His march from Spain into Italy by way of the Alps, his disastrous defeats of the Romans—Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ—and his twelve years' resistance to the Romans in Italy proved him the greatest general of antiquity. His war against the Romans has been described by the Bishop of London in a happy epigram—"the war of a great man against a great state".

l. 18. **Themistocles at Trafalgar**. Themistocles was the Athenian statesman who saved Athens by the great naval victory over the Persians at Salamis (480 B.C.).

§ 161

l. 29. Clive, in similar circumstances, in 1773, when accused of having abused his powers so as to "obtain and possess himself of" £234,000.

l. 31. Wedderburn (1733-1805), Lord Loughborough (1780), Lord Rosslyn (1801), of Scotch birth, became Solicitor-general in 1771, Attorney-general in 1778, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1780, and was Lord Chancellor from 1793 to 1801. His career was remarkable for tergiversation, so that Junius described him as one whom treachery itself could not trust. Clive was so much attached to him that he gave him a seat in the House of Commons and a villa near his own mansion of Claremont.

page 100, l. 24. some bulky pamphlet.

"Reams and reams of tracts that without pain
Incessant spring from Scott's prolific brain" (*Rolliad*).

l. 32. "that reptile Mr. Burke". The expression occurs, however, in a private letter to Hastings, 15th August, 1784 (Gleig, iii. 170).

§ 162

page 101, l. 2. Lord Mansfield, William Murray (1704-1793), Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1756 to 1788. He is described by Macaulay in the essay on Pitt as "intellectually equal to Pitt". His friendship with Hastings was of old standing, and letters that passed between them in 1776 are given in Gleig.

l. 4. Lord Lansdowne, the Lord Shelburne who had been Prime Minister (1782-1783), and was created Marquis of Lansdowne in 1784. The best account of him—"one of the suppressed characters of English history"—will be found in Beaconsfield's *Sybil*, chap. iii.

l. 19. The Lord Chancellor . . . violence. Thurlow told Scott that Hastings had put an end to the Coalition Ministry as effectively as if he had taken a pistol and shot them through the head one after another, and he swore Hastings should be made a peer and a Knight of the Bath. He actually pressed Pitt to give him a peerage on the ground that both Pitt and himself owed their office to Hastings.

page 102, l. 12. consistency. See note on § 139.

§ 163

l. 25. Yet it could . . . game. For this reason, as many believe, Pitt was not sorry to see the Opposition start off on a false scent. The attack on Hastings diverted his opponents from an attack on his own administration.

1. 31. Brooks's, the Whig Club in St. James's Street, which included among its members Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and other wits. The club-house was originally a gaming-house kept by Almack, and then by Brooks, "a wine merchant and money-lender".

page 103, l. 8. Virgil's third eclogue, one of Virgil's pastoral poems called *Bucolics* or *Eclogues*. It is an account of a singing match between two shepherds. The parody is in *Political Eclogues*.

1. 10. the most austere . . . wanton, Queen Charlotte, whose rules of court were strict against divorcées, made an exception in favour of Mrs. Hastings.

1. 11. A third described, &c.

"Oh, Pitt, with awe behold that precious throat
Whose necklace teems with many a future vote!
Pregnant with Burgage gems each hand she wears,
And lo! depending¹ questions gleam upon her ears!"
(*Probationary Ode.*)

§ 164

1. 21. Francis . . . Commons. Francis was in the House of Commons from 1784 to 1798, and again from 1802 to 1806.

§ 165

page 104, l. 8. Mr. Gleig supposes, &c. "His original object was, not so much to punish the crimes of an individual delinquent, as to put a stop to a system under which such crimes could be perpetrated." But after the loss of Fox's India Bill and the overthrow of the Coalition Ministry, "the zeal which had animated Mr. Burke in favour of justice, or mercy, or truth in the abstract, merged in a sense of unmitigable and deadly rancour towards the individual whom he regarded as the personification rather than the main support of their opposites". Macaulay's 'reference to dates' is no refutation of Gleig's position.

1. 32. compassion for suffering, &c. "Macaulay, in a famous passage of dazzling lustre and fine historic colour, describes Burke's holy rage against the misdeeds of Hastings as due to his sensibility. But sensibility to what? Not merely to those common impressions of human suffering which kindle the flame of ordinary philanthropy. . . . It was reverence rather than sensibility, a noble and philosophic conservatism rather than philanthropy. . . . The India which ever glowed before his vision was not the home of picturesque usages and melodramatic costume, but rather, in his own words, the land of princes once of great dignity, authority, and opulence; of an ancient and venerable priesthood, the guides of the people while

¹ 'Depending', hanging like the ear-rings; questions not yet settled.

living, and their consolation in death; of a nobility of antiquity and renown; of millions of ingenious mechanics, and millions of diligent tillers of the earth. . . . In Burke there was a reasoned and philosophic veneration for all old and settled order" (Morley's *Burke* (English Men of Letters), pp. 129-132).

l. 33. *Las Casas* (1474-1566), a Spanish Dominican monk, the defender of American natives against their Spanish conquerors. He went to America in 1502, and in 1514 began his crusade against Indian slavery. In 1515 he came to Spain to intercede with the king on behalf of the Indians, and was appointed in 1516 "Protector of the Indians". He subsequently came from America to intercede with the Emperor Charles V. for the same object. He wrote two important books, the *Destruction of the Indians* and the *History of the Indians*.

l. 34. *Clarkson* (1760-1846), a gentleman who aided Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay (Lord Macaulay's father) in the crusade against the slave-trade. He wrote in 1808 a *History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade*.

§ 166

page 105, l. 32. *huge trees*. Pipal trees, common in Northern India, like the ancestral elms and oaks of England.

l. 35. *imaum*, a Mohammedan priest charged with the ceremonies of public worship.

Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed and the sacred city of the Mohammedans. The Jews in exile thus daily turn towards Jerusalem.

page 106, l. 1. *gaudy idols*, of the Hindus; the Mohammedan religion is a protest against idolatry.

devotee swinging in the air, by an iron hook in the fleshy part of the back, in honour of the goddess Kali.

l. 4. *yellow streaks of sect* on the forehead, in the case of those of the Brahmin caste.

l. 10. *Beaconsfield*, in Buckinghamshire, the residence of Burke, who anticipated Disraeli by selecting the name for his title in prospect of a peerage.

l. 12. *laid gold*, &c., the custom in the East being for an inferior to present a superior with a gift known as *nuzzur*.

l. 14. *gipsy camp*, a concrete and particular expression for 'wandering bands'. The gipsies are believed to have come originally from India, not from Egypt, as their name implies.

- l. 16. **lonely courier, &c.** The practice is not obsolete yet.

“With a jingle of bells as the dusk gathers in,
He turns to the footpath that heads up the hill—
The bags on his back and a cloth round his chin,
And, tucked in his waist-belt, the Post Office bill”
(Kipling's *Overland Mail*).

l. 19. **Gordon's riots of 1780**, when London was in the hands of the mob for five days. Lord George Gordon roused the mob with his ‘No Popery’ cry against the attempts in Parliament to remove some of the disabilities of the Catholics.

l. 20. **Dr. Dodd**, chaplain to the king from 1763. In 1777 he forged the name of Lord Chesterfield, his former pupil, to a bond for £4200. For this crime, despite a strong effort by Dr. Johnson to obtain a pardon for him, he was executed.

§ 167

l. 25. **His imagination . . . good sense.** Burke spoke of Hastings as “a bad scribbler of absurd papers, who could never put two sentences of sense together”, “a man whose origin was low, obscure, and vulgar, and bred in vulgar and ignoble habits; yet more proud than persons born under canopies of state, and swaddled in purple”, “a judge in hell”, “a spider of hell”, “a captain-general of iniquity, thief, tyrant, robber, cheat, swindler, sharper. We call him all these names, and are sorry that the English language does not afford terms adequate to the enormity of his offences.”

page 107, l. 15. **the Commercial Treaty of 1786**, in which Pitt, acting on the Free Trade principles he had learnt from Adam Smith, arranged for the removal of many of the restrictions on the trade between England and France.

l. 16. **the Regency, in 1789**, necessitated by the king's temporary insanity.

l. 19. **a mischievous maniac.** Many were of the same mind with George Selwyn, who expressed his surprise “at Burke walking at large and my master (George III) in a strait waistcoat”.

l. 24. **the taking of the Bastille, on 14th July, 1789**, with which began the French Revolution.

Marie Antoinette. The passage in the *Reflections on the French Revolution* in which Burke defends the unfortunate queen of Louis XVI is one of his greatest and most sustained flights of eloquence.

§ 170

page 109, l. 12. **That paper . . . able minute.** The substance of the paper was as injudicious as the form, the defence consisting mainly in his own consciousness of rectitude, his popularity

in India, the thanks of the Directors, and the approval of the Court of Proprietors. "With such testimonies in my favour, and with the internal applause of my own mind superseding all evidence, what was my surprise to find, on my arrival in England, that my character still continued to be assailed by the bitterest calumnies and invectives! Though I might have thought myself entitled by my services to a different reception, and though I might erroneously imagine that no power on earth had a right to impeach me for the exercise of a trust which those for whom I had held it had repeatedly declared that I had discharged to their benefit and entire satisfaction, yet I was glad to see some substantial ground for hope of a speedy trial." No wonder a member remarked of the defence, "I see in it a perfect character drawn by the culprit himself, and that character his own. Conscious triumph in the ability and success of all his measures pervades every sentence."

l. 15. It fell flat. Hastings thought otherwise. "On the 1st May I attended, and was called in a quarter before four. I read the three first parts of my defence, Markham and the two clerks of the House the rest till half-past ten, when I was dismissed. The next evening I read the rest. I was heard with an attention unusual in that assembly, and with the most desirable effect." But his account of his reception on 10th May confirms Macaulay's statement: "I attended, presented my defence, but was excused reading it; for I was fearful of wearying my hearers".

§ 171

l. 25. Dundas had formerly moved, in 1782. The members of the Ministry were almost compelled, therefore, to support their colleague.

§ 172

page 110, l. 7. with greatest advantage. This is doubtful, for the reappointment of Hastings in 1779 might be pleaded as condoning any faults before that date.

l. 21. the star of the Bath, a jewelled cross with eight points, the badge of that order of knighthood, next in importance to the order of the Garter.

the privy council, consisting of men distinguished for their public services, and not composed, like the Cabinet, of men of one party alone.

l. 28. Keeper of the Great Seal. The Lord Chancellor, who affixes the Great Seal to important State documents, patents of nobility, &c.

§ 174

page 112, l. 7. during sixty years, since that of Harley, Earl of Oxford, in 1716.

§ 175

page 113, l. 8. works of supererogation, good works not necessary for salvation, but which may be accepted by God in atonement for defective service in something else.

§ 176

l. 14. usual notes. Now called 'whips'.

l. 16. It was asserted by Mr. Hastings, in his letter to Impey, 19th April, 1818.

l. 25. Lord Mulgrave, Constantine Phipps, M.P. for Lincoln, "an industrious and sententious youth, who was ere long to embark on a course of tergiversation which earned him an English peerage, a long succession of richly-paid offices, and a couplet¹ by Fitzpatrick worth all the painfully composed and minutely revised speeches that he ever made on either side of any controversy" (Sir G. Trevelyan's *C. J. Fox*).

§ 177

l. 32. William Wilberforce (1759-1833), born at Hull, for which city he became M.P. in 1780. He was returned for Yorkshire in 1784, and gave an independent support to Pitt. His philanthropy took the form of a crusade against the slave-trade, which he prosecuted for nearly twenty years (1788-1807). He retired from Parliament in 1825. He belonged to the Clapham sect of Evangelicals, among whom Macaulay was brought up.

§ 178

page 114, l. 14. the motive of Pitt and Dundas was jealousy. Besides the jealousy common to both of Hastings as a possible rival for the king's favour, Pitt was jealous of Thurlow's influence, and Dundas feared Hastings as a probable rival at the Board of Control. "On the whole it is a reasonable conclusion that Pitt and Dundas, of whom the former always looked coldly on Hastings, and the latter had censured and condemned him, did resolve, after private consultation, not to stand between Hastings and his powerful accusers at the risk of some loss of political character and some strain upon their ascendancy in the House and the country" (Sir A. Lyall).

§ 179

page 115, l. 8. Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751-1816), born at Dublin, became famous by his brilliant and witty comedies—*The Rivals* (1775), *School for Scandal* (1777), *The Critic* (1779). He became an intimate friend of the Prince of Wales and the leading

¹ And all must own *that* worth completely tried
By turns experienced on every side.

Whigs. In 1780 he entered Parliament, and greatly distinguished himself as an orator. He held a minor office in the Whig ministry of 1806, and retired from Parliament in 1812, his last years being embittered by debt and disappointment.

l. 11. the most elaborately brilliant. Hastings in a letter (19th February, 1787) wrote of it as "the admired harangue, . . . fabricated with the labours of months".

l. 15. below the bar, or barrier within which only members of the Commons are admitted.

l. 26. Windham (1750-1810), a leading Whig, who followed Burke when the party was broken up by differences about the French Revolution. He was an opponent of Lord North's over the American war, and became Secretary for Ireland in 1783. In 1794 he was Secretary-at-War under Pitt, and resigned on the fall of the ministry in 1801. He was a member of the Literary Club and a friend of Dr. Johnson's, at whose death-bed he was one of the by-standers (v. §§ 183, 188).

l. 31. the late Lord Holland, nephew of Charles James Fox, and grandson of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland. A laudatory notice of him was contributed by Macaulay to the *Edinburgh Review* in July, 1841.

§ 180

page 116, l. 2. his friends. One of his defenders was Lord Hood, who justified the action by the plea of necessity.

l. 3. Pitt declared himself for Sheridan's motion, justifying the resumption of the jaghires or territorial revenues, but condemning the seizure of the treasures.

§ 183

page 117, l. 14. Francis should not be a manager. But the managers appointed him their assessor. This may be regarded, in spite of Macaulay's opinion, as an impolitic step. The House of Commons was not in the same position as a private plaintiff, and the known bias of Francis would vitiate evidence obtained through his exertions.

§ 184

l. 20. spectacles more dazzling, such as coronations, particularly that of George IV.

l. 33. backward through many troubled centuries. Impeachments dated from the reign of Edward III, whose ministers were impeached in the Good Parliament of 1376.

page 118, l. 2. writing strange characters, &c. In Hindustani, as in Persian and Hebrew, the letters are written from right to left.

§ 185

It is interesting to compare this gorgeous description with the plain account given by the original historian of the trial. "The Lords were called over by the clerk, and arranged by Sir Isaac Heard, principal king-at-arms, when upwards of two hundred proceeded to Westminster Hall. Previous to their Lordships' approach to the hall, about eleven o'clock, her Majesty, with the Princesses Elizabeth, Augusta, and Mary, made their appearance in the Duke of Newcastle's gallery. The royal box was graced with the Duchess of Gloucester and the young prince. The ladies were all in mourning dresses. Mrs. Fitzherbert was in the royal box. The Dukes of Cumberland, Gloucester, and York, and the Prince of Wales, with their trains, followed the Chancellor, and closed the procession. Upwards of two hundred of the Commons, with the Speaker, were in the gallery. The managers, Charles Fox and all, were in full dress; but a very few of the Commons were full dressed, some of them were in boots. Their seats were covered with green cloth—the rest of the building was 'one red'. . . . A party of horse-guards, under the command of a field-officer, with a captain's party from the Horse Grenadiers, attended daily during the trial. A body of three hundred foot-guards also kept the avenues clear; and a considerable number of constables attended for the purpose of taking offenders into custody." A view of the scene in Westminster Hall, taken from an old print, will be found in Sir C. Lawson's *Warren Hastings*.

1. 8. It was the great hall of William Rufus. It was opened at Whitsuntide, 1099, when Rufus presided in the Curia Regis sitting in Westminster Hall. It underwent alterations in 1397. As the law-courts became fixed, instead of following the king, they found a home in Westminster Hall, which thus became synonymous with the law-courts, down to 1882.

1. 11. the just sentence of Bacon, in 1621, for accepting bribes when Lord Chancellor.

1. 12. the just absolution of Somers. Somers (1651-1716) had acted as the advocate of the Seven Bishops, and had contributed to bring about the Revolution of 1688. He became Lord Chancellor under William, and was impeached, with other Whig ministers, for the Partition Treaties concluded in view of the death of the King of Spain.

1. 13. Strafford, who was impeached in 1641, but condemned by a bill of attainder.

1. 15. High Court of Justice, the special commission presided over by Bradshaw which sentenced Charles I to death in 1649.

1. 21. Garter King-at-arms, the principal herald. The herald attached to the Order of the Garter was officially appointed by

Henry V to be the royal herald, and thus became the head of the college of heralds.

l. 26. The junior Baron, *i.e.* the peer most recently created.

l. 27. Lord Heathfield (1717-1790), born in Roxburghshire, Governor of Gibraltar in 1775, won his fame by defending Gibraltar from 1779 to 1782. He received his peerage in 1787.

l. 30. Earl Marshal, a dignity attached to the Norfolk peerage since the thirteenth century. The Duke of Norfolk is the premier duke in England, the peerage dating from 1483.

page 119, l. 9. Siddons, Sarah Kemble, Mrs. Siddons (1755-1831), the greatest tragic actress that the world has ever seen. She excelled especially in the character of Lady Macbeth.

l. 12. the historian of the Roman empire. Edward Gibbon, whose *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared in 1776.

l. 13. Cicero . . . against Verres. Verres, as Governor of Sicily, had been guilty of oppression, and was prosecuted (70 B.C.) by Cicero, who made some of his greatest speeches in this case.

l. 15. Tacitus . . . Africa. Tacitus, the historian of the Roman Empire, acted (99 A.D.), together with Pliny the Younger, as prosecutor of Marius, who had been proconsul or governor of the province of Africa.

l. 18. Reynolds, Sir Joshua (1723-1792), the best portrait-painter of the time, President of the Royal Academy.

l. 21. Parr, Samuel (1747-1825), son of a surgeon at Harrow, was a pupil and afterwards chief assistant at the public school there. He was appointed vicar of Hatton, in Warwickshire. He was noted for his knowledge of Latin and Greek ("that dark and profound mine").

ll. 27, 28. her . . . faith. Mrs. Fitz-Herbert, privately married to the Prince of Wales in 1785.

l. 29. a beautiful race. The Hon. Mrs. Norton (the heroine of Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*) and Lady Dufferin were granddaughters of Sheridan.

the Saint Cecilia. Mrs. Sheridan, a daughter of Linley, the musical composer, was popularly known as the 'Maid of Bath', and was noted for her great beauty and musical talent. She was painted by Reynolds in the character of Saint Cecilia, a Roman maid who was converted to Christianity, and is said to have invented the organ. Cecilia is the patron saint of music, and her festival day falls on 22nd November.

l. 34. Mrs. Montague (1720-1800) kept a *salon* in Hill Street, Mayfair, which was attended by Burke, Garrick, Reynolds, Lyttelton, Hannah More, Fanny Burney, &c. She wrote three *Dialogues of the Dead* for Lyttelton, and an essay on the *Genius of Shakspeare* in reply to Voltaire.

page 120, l. 2. Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire gained over a butcher, an opponent of Fox in the Westminster election of 1784, by a kiss.

§ 186

l. 4. The culprit. Should be 'the accused'.

l. 19. *Mens æqua in arduis*, 'a mind calm amid difficulties'.

l. 20. the great Proconsul. The name is now commonly applied to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India from 1848 to 1856. A Proconsul, in Roman history, was one who, the year after being consul, governed a province.

§ 187

l. 22. His counsel. Erskine, one of the foremost advocates of his time, was expected to defend Hastings, but as a Whig he may not have cared to oppose his political friends who managed the impeachment. His defence of Stockdale, who published a defence of Hastings, remains to show what he might have done.

l. 25. Law (1750-1818), who became Lord Ellenborough in 1802 when he was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench. His son who became Governor-General of India, was fiercely attacked by Macaulay in a famous speech in the House of Commons in 1843.

l. 26. Dallas (1756-1824) first distinguished himself at the trial of Lord G. Gordon. He is the reputed author of an epigram provoked by Burke's virulence:

"Oft have we wondered that on Irish ground
No poisonous reptile has e'er yet been found;
Revealed the secret stands of Nature's work,
She saved her venom to produce her Burke".

l. 27. Plomer, or Plumer (1753-1824), became Solicitor-general in 1806; Attorney-general (1811); Vice-chancellor (1813); Master of the Rolls (1818).

§ 188

l. 34. the blaze of red drapery. See note on § 185.

page 121, l. 5. a bag, a small silk covering for the back part of a wig.

l. 8. Age and blindness, &c. Lord North (1732-1792) was really only of the same age as Hastings. He had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767, and Prime Minister from 1770 to 1782. He had been frequently threatened with impeachment himself over the American war by those who were now "his friends".

l. 15. the great age of Athenian eloquence, the latter half of the fourth century B.C. At this time flourished Demosthenes

the greatest of all orators, and Hyperides, long the friend of Demosthenes, but latterly opposed to him. Fox is certainly the greatest debater England has produced, and for this reason Macaulay may be justified in calling him the English Demosthenes. "Hyperides joined fire and pathos to exquisite wit and grace, and was preferred by some to Demosthenes himself" (Jebb).

l. 26. Windham. See note on § 179.

l. 27. the youngest manager. Charles Grey (1764-1845), afterwards Earl Grey, Prime Minister from 1830 to 1834. One of his greatest speeches was on the occasion referred to, in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Reform Bill (7th October, 1831). Though his speech evoked marks of approbation unusual for the House of Lords, the bill was thrown out by a majority of 41 (see Molesworth's *History of England*, i. 182-192).

§ 189

page 122, l. 32. Chancellor. Lord Thurlow. See §§ 162, 178.

§ 191

page 124, l. 11. his father might have envied. Sheridan's father had been an actor, and, later, a teacher of elocution.

§ 193

l. 28. masquerade, a masked ball similar to the modern fancy-dress ball.

l. 32. lacs and crores, &c. A *crore* is 100 lacs = £1,000,000; a *zemindar* is a rent-owner of land; an *aumil* is a governor of a district; a *sunrud* is a document conferring a certain right, a *perwannah*, one conveying instructions from a magistrate; a *jaghire* is a grant of the rents of lands; a *muzzur*, a present to an official or ruler.

§ 194

page 125, l. 15. the debates on the Regency. Pitt and his colleagues maintained that Parliament had the right to appoint whom it pleased to be regent during the king's illness, while Fox and the other Whig leaders contended that the Prince of Wales was entitled under the constitution to exercise kingly powers without waiting for the sanction of Parliament. This curious reversal of Whig and Tory positions was due to party exigencies.

l. 19. the States-General of France, a body consisting of nobles, clergy, and representatives of the third estate or the commons. It resembled in many respects the English Parliament. It had not met since 1614. Its meeting on 4th May, 1789, led to the beginning of the French Revolution.

§ 196

page 126, l. 16. law-lords, the lords of appeal, or judges who have been made peers to decide cases appealed to the House of Lords.

l. 22. partridge-shooting. The irony resembles Carlyle's sarcasms on the game-preserving peers in *Sartor Resartus* and all his political writings.

§ 197

l. 33. Those rules . . . exclude much information. A witness must confine himself to facts that have come under his own observation. Hearsay evidence is entirely excluded.

§ 198

page 127, l. 14. violent language. "He murdered that man (Nuncomar) by the hands of Sir Elijah Impey." Fox expressed the same thing in a more witty and guarded way when he said that the managers of the impeachment might have shared Nuncomar's fate if Impey had been their Chief Justice.

l. 18. The asperity, &c. On one occasion he is described as having "been wilder than ever, and laid himself and his party more open than ever speaker did. He is folly personified, but shaking his cap and bells under the laurel of genius. He finished his wild speech in a manner next to madness." Windham and Lansdowne, who admired his genius, give evidence to the same effect. The alienation of Fox and Burke really began at this time.

l. 26. He received the censure, &c. He explained that he had used the word 'murder' in a moral and popular sense, and that the poverty of the English language had led him to express his private feelings by a word insufficient to convey an impression of complicated atrocity.

§ 200

page 128, l. 12. public curiosity, long suspended. It had been diverted to the exciting events of the French Revolution, which gave rise to tragedies nearer home and more terrible than those attributed to Hastings in India.

§ 201

l. 24. the woolsack, the seat of the Lord Chancellor, who acts as the chairman of the House of Lords. The name originated in the fact that the seat was originally a large square bag of wool covered with red cloth. It was intended to keep the legislators in mind of one of the staple commodities of the kingdom.

l. 28. The great seal, the sign of office of the Lord Chancellor carried before him on state occasions. See note on § 172.

1. 32. *Thurlow . . . estranged.* Pitt had become jealous of him because of his underhand intrigues with the king.

1. 34. *junior barons, those most recently created.* Thurlow's peerage dated from 1778.

page 129, l. 3. *that fair fellowship, of the Whigs, consisting of Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Grey, &c.*

1. 9. *It had been violently and publicly dissolved.* This historic scene in the House of Commons took place on 6th May, 1791, on a debate concerning the constitution of Canada. Burke took the occasion to denounce the French Revolution, but he was met by interruptions from his own side of the House, and a scene of disorder followed. "Burke was incensed beyond endurance by this treatment, for even Fox and Windham had taken part in the tumult against him. With much bitterness he commented on Fox's previous eulogies of the Revolution, and finally there came the fatal words of severance. 'It is indiscreet', he said, 'at any period, but especially at my time of life, to provoke enemies, or give my friends occasion to desert me. Yet if my firm and steady adherence to the British Constitution place me in such a dilemma, I am ready to risk it, and with my last words to exclaim, "Fly from the French Constitution"'. Fox at this point eagerly called to him that there was no loss of friends. 'Yes, yes,' cried Burke, 'there is a loss of friends. I know the price of my conduct. I have done my duty at the price of my friend. Our friendship is at an end.' . . . Fox was deeply moved, and is described as weeping, even to sobbing. . . . The once friendly intercourse between the two heroes was at an end" (*Morley's Burke* in "*English Men of Letters*", pp. 181, 182).

§ 202

1. 18. *charges relating to Cheyte Sing and to the Begums.* If these had been proved, reparation would have had to be made, so that some of the peers may have been moved to acquit by Falstaff's consideration that "paying back is double labour".

§ 203

1. 33. *the general law of human nature.* Macaulay discusses this at great length in the essays on Lord Byron and on Horace Walpole.

page 130, l. 10. *to set off his good actions, &c.* So in the essay on Clive (§ 140): "Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. . . . But it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions

ought not, indeed, to be called good; but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed; and if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one not merely of acquittal, but of approbation."

l. 19. *cuddy*, the general cabin in a merchantman; the saloon.

l. 30. *addresses to the late Governor-General*. They were solicited by Hastings, who in a letter to Sir John Shore (19th February, 1787) asked him to collect "the testimonials of the most respectable inhabitants of the provinces of Bengal, and such other creditable vouchers, of whatever kind, beyond the provinces, as may refute the calumnies with which I have been loaded". Testimonials were forthcoming even from the Begums of Oude—a fact which of itself would justify Macaulay's contemptuous dismissal of them.

page 131, l. 17. *the fiends . . . murder*. Siva, the third person in the Hindu Trinity, is the destroyer. Under many different names he is worshipped, e.g. as Kali, causing small-pox; and he was invoked by the Thugs, or gangs of murderers.

l. 19. *Pantheon*, temple of all the gods (Gr. *pan*, all; *theos*, a god).

§ 204

l. 27. *The legal expenses* amounted to £80,000.

page 132, l. 1. *Logan* (1748–1788), a Scotch clergyman, author of Scripture paraphrases, and rival claimant with Michael Bruce for the authorship of the *Cuckoo*. His pamphlet was published by Stockdale. See note on § 187.

l. 4. *Simpkin's Letters*. *Letters of Simpkin to his dear brother in Wales on the Trial of Hastings*, 1791, by Captain R. Broome, under the name of "Simpkin the Second". Specimens are given in Sir C. Lawson's *Life of Warren Hastings*. The lines describing Francis may be quoted:—

"Then Francis comes sneaking with grief in his heart,
At not being indulged with a Manager's part—
Tho' he now and then steals in the Manager's box
To suggest a shrewd question to Burke and Charles Fox".

l. 7. *John Williams* (1761–1818), a satirist from his school-days, who was always getting into trouble by his biting epigrams. His theatrical criticisms made him for a time a terror to all the actors and actresses in London. In 1797 he raised an action for libel, which he lost, the judge stigmatizing him as "so lost to every sense of decency and shame that his acquaintance was infamy and his touch poison". He had to emigrate to America, where he edited a democratic New York paper, and died of fever in poverty and neglect. His pseudonym of Pasquin was from the Roman

cobbler of the sixteenth century, who was noted for his raillery and witty sallies. The name is preserved in the word 'pasquinade'.

l. 15. to regain Daylesford. Hastings notes the completion of the purchase in his diary of 26th August, 1788. He paid for it £11,424, including an annuity of £100 to the vendor.

l. 21. Hastings proceeded to build, &c. This foible, characteristic of the 'Nabobs' from Clive downwards, was satirized in the *Lounger* (1785-1786) by Henry Mackenzie under the pseudonym of Margery Mushroom.

§ 205

page 133, l. 13. by instalments, of £2000 a year, thus reducing the annuity to £2000. The annuity, granted in 1795, was not for life, but for twenty-eight and a half years, and it was made retrospective to June, 1785.

l. 18. more than once, &c., in 1799, 1804, and 1813.

§ 206

l. 23. a red riband, a K.C.B. (Knight Commander of the Bath). Clive received this honour, and it is given frequently now to men who distinguish themselves either in council or in the field. Francis obtained it in 1806.

the Council Board, the Board of Control which exercised Government supervision over the proceedings of the Company's representatives, the Directors.

l. 24. an office at Whitehall, the chief Government offices being in this quarter of London.

§ 207

l. 32. Once . . . he interfered in politics. He solicited office, however, when the Whigs got into power in 1806; he wished to be Governor-General again, or to go to the Board of Control.

l. 33. not much to his honour. His own account of his interview with Addington reflects little credit on his capacity at least. "I spoke to him, *after a short preface*, as follows": there follow two or three pages, even in Gleig's curtailed account, of the most ponderous sentences ever addressed to a prime minister. The whole affair seems extraordinary until we remember that during the same month (May, 1804) Hastings applied to Addington to befriend him in his application to the Directors for more lenient terms about his pension.

page 134, l. 7. the important question, the Emancipation of the Catholics, or allowing them the right of sitting in Parliament. This was an essential part of Pitt's scheme for the Union of the

Irish and British Parliaments, and his failure to convince the king of its necessity led to his resignation in 1801.

§ 208

l. 21. He amused himself, &c. In a letter of 21st July, 1785, he writes: "My Arab arrived in excellent condition, and is wonderfully admired. I ride him in spite of his beauty and long tail, though both valid objections; for this is a land of ostentation, and therefore everybody detests it in others." He then asks his friend in India to send some "shawl goats", as all those previously sent "died in the voyage"; seeds of the lichee, the cinnamon, and the custard apple "from my Allipoor trees, whoever is the proprietor of them". The commissions are repeated a year later in a letter of 18th July, 1786.

l. 26. Allipore, a suburb to the south of Calcutta.

l. 28. leechie, a Chinese fruit, having a sweet sub-acid pulp.

l. 29. Covent Garden, the flower and fruit market in London.

§ 209

page 135, l. 9. a Trissotin, a character in Molière's *Les Femmes Savantes*. Philaminte, a *femme savante*, wishes him to marry her daughter Henriette, who is in love with Clitandre. It transpires that Henriette's father is on the verge of bankruptcy, and Trissotin retires, leaving the field to his rival. The character, which is composed of poet, gallant, and preacher, was supposed to satirize the abbé Crotin, whose dramatic name was *Tricotin*.

l. 11. We are assured in these Memoirs. The passage is a good example of Gleig's stilted style, and lends itself readily to ridicule. "In tea he was a decided epicure, for he made it after a fashion of his own. It was with him a maxim that the tea having been once infused, and the tea-pot filled, no second supply of water ought to be added. All the aroma, he would say, is carried off in the first decoction. . . . He would sit beside his friends and do his best to amuse them while they were demolishing their tongue and venison pasties. On these occasions he not unfrequently made his appearance with a copy of verses in his hand, the composition of which had employed either his sleepless hours by night, or his first waking moments in the morning; and they were uniformly so graceful—so perfectly adapted to the situation of the party, because touching on the occurrence of the past day, or illustrating some subject of conversation which might have called forth his own wit or the wit of somebody else—that every interruption of the pleasant practice was felt as a grievous disappointment. There is no poet, however, whose Pegasus will always soar on the mere volition of its rider; and Mr. Hastings did from time to time join the family circle without bringing a poetic offering with him."

1. 32. Dionysius, the elder (431-367 B.C.), tyrant of Syracuse, gained many victories over the Carthaginians. He had his poems recited at the Olympic games, and competed for the prize of tragedy at Athens. He got the second and third prizes several times, and, just before his death, the first. He entertained the poet Philoxenus, but sent him to the quarries for his bad verses: he invited the philosopher Plato, but soon dismissed him, or (as the story went) sold him as a slave.

Frederic the Great (1712-1786), King of Prussia, the hero of the Seven Years' War. "We hardly know any instance of the strength and weakness of human nature so striking, and so grotesque, as the character of this haughty, vigilant, resolute, sagacious blue-stocking, half Mithridates and half Trissotin, bearing up against a world in arms, with an ounce of poison in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in the other" (Macaulay's Essay on Frederic the Great).

page 136, l. 2. Hayley (1745-1820), best known as author of the *Life of Cowper*.

1. 3. Seward (1749-1809), called the 'Swan of Lichfield', corresponded with Dr. Johnson and Dr. Erasmus Darwin. Her poems were published by Sir W. Scott a year after her death.

§ 210

1. 7. In 1813 the charter . . . was renewed. One important change made at this renewal was the throwing open of the trade to India.

page 137, l. 1. The Lords . . . tokens of respect. "I consider the honour, in both instances, as bestowed on character, not on the worth of any information which they had drawn from me."

1. 4. Doctor of Laws. The honorary degree conferred by Oxford is Doctor of Civil Law (D.C.L.).

Sheldonian Theatre, the building in which great academic functions are held in Oxford, such as the conferring of degrees, and the Encœnia or annual commemoration of founders. It was built by Archbishop Sheldon between 1664 and 1669, and was designed by Sir C. Wren.

§ 211

1. 8. sworn of the Privy Council, in May, 1814.

1. 18. to declare in public. "More audible than was merely necessary for the great personages to whom it was addressed" is Hastings' own account. The Prince Regent introduced him as "the most deserving and one of the worst-used men in the Empire".

§ 212

l. 29. he met death with . . . fortitude. The letters of his god-daughter and his step-daughter, quoted in Gleig, tell us that "his sufferings were very great indeed—borne with uncomplaining fortitude, the most touching meekness of temper, and pious resignation to the will of God".

§ 213

page 138, l. 22. Richelieu, Cardinal (1585-1642), the great French statesman who acted as chief minister to Louis XIII. He was virtually ruler of France from 1624 to 1642, and was especially successful in his foreign policy, humbling Spain and raising his own country to the highest position.

l. 23. Cosmo de' Medici (1389-1464), a merchant prince, who for thirty years was "absolute ruler in the republic of Florence". He was called the "Father of his Country" because of his prosperous rule. He was specially noted for his patronage of literature and art. He attracted to Florence many of the learned Greeks who became refugees on the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. He employed agents everywhere to collect MSS. in Greek, Latin, and the Oriental tongues, and these collections formed the nucleus of the famous Medicean Library.

APPENDIX

PARAGRAPHS IN THE ORIGINAL ESSAY OMITTED BY MACAULAY FROM THE REVISED EDITION

I (*opening paragraphs*).—This book seems to have been manufactured in pursuance of a contract, by which the representatives of Warren Hastings, on the one part, bound themselves to furnish papers, and Mr. Gleig, on the other part, bound himself to furnish praise. It is but just to say that the covenants on both sides have been most faithfully kept; and the result is before us in the form of three big bad volumes, full of undigested correspondence and undiscerning panegyric.

If it were worth while to examine this performance in detail, we could easily make a long article by merely pointing out inaccurate statements, inelegant expressions, and immoral doctrines. But it would be idle to waste criticism on a bookmaker; and, whatever credit Mr. Gleig may have justly earned by former works, it is as a bookmaker, and nothing more, that he now comes before us. More eminent men than Mr. Gleig have written nearly as ill as he, when they have stooped to similar drudgery. It would be unjust to estimate Goldsmith by the *History of Greece*, or Scott by the *Life of Napoleon*. Mr. Gleig is neither a Goldsmith nor a Scott; but it would be unjust to deny that he is capable of something better than these Memoirs. It would also, we hope and believe, be unjust to charge any Christian minister with the guilt of deliberately maintaining some propositions which we find in this book. It is not too much to say that Mr. Gleig has written several passages which bear the same relation to the *Prince* of Machiavelli that the *Prince* of Machiavelli bears to the Whole Duty of Man, and which would excite amazement in a den of robbers, or on board of a schooner of pirates. But we are willing to attribute these offences to haste, to thoughtlessness, and to that disease of the understanding which may be called the *Furor Biographicus*, and which is to writers of lives

what the *goitre* is to an Alpine shepherd, or dirt-eating to a Negro slave.

II (*between* §§ 18 and 19).—We are not inclined to judge either Hastings or the baroness severely. There was undoubtedly much to extenuate their fault. But we can by no means concur with the Reverend Mr. Gleig, who carries his partiality to so injudicious an extreme as to describe the conduct of Imhoff—conduct the baseness of which is the best excuse for the lovers—as “wise and judicious”.

III (*between* §§ 65 and 66).—Mr. Gleig is so strangely ignorant as to imagine that the judges had no further discretion in the case, and that the power of extending mercy to Nuncomar resided with the Council. He therefore throws on Francis and Francis’s party the whole blame of what followed. We should have thought that a gentleman who has published five or six bulky volumes on Indian affairs might have taken the trouble to inform himself as to the fundamental principles of the Indian Government. The Supreme Court had, under the Regulating Act, the power to respite criminals till the pleasure of the Crown should be known. The Council had, at that time, no power to interfere.

IV (*between* §§ 137 and 138).—There is a man to whom the conduct of Hastings through the whole of these proceedings appears not only excusable but laudable. There is a man who tells us that he “must really be pardoned if he ventures to characterize as something pre-eminently ridiculous and wicked the sensibility which would balance against the preservation of British India a little personal suffering, which was applied only so long as the sufferers refused to deliver up a portion of that wealth, the whole of which their own and their mistresses’ treason had forfeited”. We cannot, we must own, envy the reverend biographer either his singular notion of what constitutes pre-eminent wickedness, or his equally singular perception of the pre-eminently ridiculous. Is this the generosity of an English soldier? Is this the charity of a Christian priest? Could neither of Mr. Gleig’s professions teach him the first rudiments of morality? Or is morality a thing which may be well enough in sermons, but which has nothing to do with biography?

SPECIMEN QUESTIONS

1. Give an account of the boyhood of Warren Hastings, and compare it with Clive's.
2. What important services were rendered by Hastings during his first period of residence in Bengal?
3. Characterize the government of British India between 1761 and 1765, and give particulars about the conduct of Hastings with reference to it.
4. What pursuits engaged the attention of Hastings while in England from 1764 to 1769, and what circumstances led to his return to India?
5. Tell the story of Hastings' second marriage, and point out any traits of his character revealed by it.
6. Describe Hastings' internal administration of Bengal before he became Governor-General.
7. Summarize Macaulay's account of the Rohilla war, and show what facts he has suppressed or distorted.
8. What were the chief provisions of the Regulating Act, and what alterations in the government of British India were effected by Pitt's Act of 1784?
9. Sketch the career of Philip Francis, and estimate his character.
10. What arguments are used to prove Francis the author of the *Letters of Junius*?
11. Give an account of the career and character of Nuncomar.
12. Summarize and criticise Macaulay's version of the trial of Nuncomar.
13. Describe the difficulties Hastings encountered between 1774 and 1776 from the Council at Calcutta and the Directors in London.
14. Describe the circumstances connected with Hastings' supposed resignation. What light is thrown on his character by the struggle on that occasion?
15. Give a general view of the dangers that confronted Hastings from external foes, and illustrate his tenacity and resourcefulness by the way in which he overcame them.
16. Describe the rise and organization of the Mahratta Power.

17. "That was the time throughout India of double government." Explain and illustrate.
18. What were the causes of the Mahratta war? Why had the British so little success in it?
19. Sketch the career of Coote, and estimate his place among the makers of British India.
20. Summarize and criticise Macaulay's account of the conflict between the Supreme Court and the Council of Calcutta.
21. Sketch the career of Impey. Was he the tool of Hastings?
22. What ground is there for calling Hyder Ali "the most formidable enemy the British ever encountered in India"?
23. State the case against Hastings with reference to his action towards the Rajah of Benares. What defence has been offered?
24. Criticise the proceedings of Hastings against the Begums of Oude.
25. Give a general review of Hastings' administration, and estimate his place among statesmen and rulers.
26. What mistakes did Hastings make in the controversy that arose on his return to England? How do you account for them?
27. How was the opposition to Hastings fomented in England?
28. Had political faction anything to do with the attack on Hastings? What motives animated Burke?
29. Describe the proceedings in Parliament which led up to the impeachment of Hastings, and discuss in particular the part played by Pitt.
30. Describe the scene in Westminster Hall at the opening of Hastings' trial.
31. How do you account for the extraordinary interest displayed at the beginning of Hastings' trial, and the complete falling off of that interest before its conclusion?
32. The acquittal of Hastings was "generally approved". Why?
33. Amid what circumstances and in what pursuits did Hastings spend the closing years of his life?
34. What honours were given to Hastings before his death? Compare his career and his treatment with Clive's.
35. Explain the following phrases, and the connection in which they are used: To buy rotten boroughs in Cornwall; the Ionian of the time of Juvenal; the firmness of Mucius; the hussar-mongers of Hesse; the vile alguazils of Impey; subsidiary alliances; arrest on mesne process; the ordinances of Charles X; the wits of Brooks's; the just absolution of Somers; a Trissotin; the beautiful mother of a beautiful race; the blow of Wat Tyler; the expedition of Prince Louis Bonaparte.

36. Write explanatory notes on the following statements:—

- (a) The cross of St. George was planted on the walls of Ghizni.
- (b) Fortitude such as the Stoics attributed to their ideal sage.
- (c) He pleaded the cause of Old Sarum.
- (d) A sepoy who loves to talk of Porto Novo and Pollilore.
- (e) He had patronized learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo.
- (f) Tacitus thundered against the oppressor of Africa.
- (g) He might chance to find a tiger while beating the jungle for a deer.

- 37. What are the chief characteristics of Macaulay's style? Give examples from this essay.
- 38. What figures of speech does Macaulay use most frequently? Give examples, pointing out what is gained by their use.
- 39. Illustrate the importance of the paragraph in Macaulay's writings.
- 40. Macaulay says in the essay on Johnson: "Mannerism is pardonable when the manner is natural". Discuss this with reference to Macaulay's own style.
- 41. Minto says of Macaulay: "He discusses everything in the concrete". Illustrate this.
- 42. What devices are employed by Macaulay to add to the animation of his writings?
- 43. What objections have been brought against Macaulay's style? Are they well-grounded?
- 44. Give examples from this essay of Macaulay's effective use of illustrations and parallel instances.
- 45. Show how Macaulay sometimes sacrifices truth for the sake of rhetorical effect.
- 46. Give examples of Macaulay's skill as an advocate.
- 47. "Macaulay's omissions are often indefensible." Illustrate from this essay.

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